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The Faerie Queene, IV. i-v: A Synopsis of Discord

The passages on Ate in IV.i-v of *The Faerie Queene* have served for some time as a specimen proof of Spenser's faulty narrative logic, forgetfulness, and inability to visualize with consistency.¹ It is high irony indeed, I think, that the changes in Ate's appearance have led to the notion of Spenser's self-contradiction, since these very changes are an allegorical expression of the discord she stirs up in others and in herself. Spenser describes contradiction but, in my opinion, causes none. By nature Ate's outer appearance records, with an almost consistent vengeance, her definitive inner dissension; her forked tongue and "squinted eyes contrarie wayes intended" (IV.i.27)² are but two signs of the split in her being which makes her a momentarily fitting mate for Blandamour (with his "fickle mind full of inconstancie,"

¹ For R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *PMLA*, XII, 2 (1897), 202, the various accounts of Ate's appearance show Spenser to be "very careless in such small matters." The indictment is carried forward by Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago, 1942), p. 165; by Rudolf Gottfried, "The Pictorial Element in Spenser's Poetry," in *That Soueraine Light: Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser, 1552-1952*, ed. William R. Mueller and Don Cameron Allen (Baltimore, 1952), p. 129; and by W. J. B. Owen, "Narrative Logic and Imitation in *The Faerie Queene*," *Comp. Lit.*, VII (Fall 1955), 328 ff.

² The text used throughout is *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, ed. J. C. Smith (Oxford, 1909), 2 vols.

IV.i.32), and assures that whenever she shows herself plainly to be "such as she [is]," the impressions she gives war with her "true" appearance and with each other from day to day: "Yet otherwise much worse, if worse might bee,/ And dayly more offensive vnto each degree" (IV.i.18). I do not see why the transformations of Ate, in the protean world of Faeryland, are at all surprising; nor where Spenser's use of three sources from Ariosto for this figure trips him up.³ If one will only credit the poet with maintaining consistency from IV.i.17 into the following stanza, it becomes clear that the sentence, "such as she was, she plaine did show," applies to Ate generally (just as lines 3-5 in that stanza apply to Duessa generally), not to Ate's "faire semblance" at the moment when Britomart and Amoret spot her from afar (IV.i.17). For Spenser reiterates, after describing Ate's ordinary appearance in full, that "now of late, / As fresh and fragrant as the floure deluce / She was become, by chaunge of her estate" (IV.i.31). Ate is able to disguise herself as convincingly as Duessa, so that none but "the warie wise" can tell (IV.i.17); rancorous disputants are automatically excluded from *that* category; when they see the hag in Ate it is not because of acute visual discrimination; it is because she, in working on their feelings, is showing herself for what she is. Duessa, not Ate, is compared in her changeableness to a chameleon; but by *ἀπὸ κούρων* the comparison is extended to Duessa's versatility at camouflage (IV.i.18). The practiced mistress of every situation, she never gives herself away. Ate, on the other hand, is revealed to each person she masters.

When we meet her and the others, Blandamour has not known her for long (IV.i.31), but he and Paridell are old "friends"; in the name of friendship he urges Paridell to attack Scudamour, helps tend Paridell after his fall, and barks at Scudamour for taking "foule aduantage" of "this good Knight" (40, 43, 44). Yet by IV.ii.5-7—having already joined Paridell in reviling Glauce:

Both they vnwise, and warelesse of the euill,
That by themselves vnto themselues is wrought,
Through that false witch, and that foule aged dreuill, (IV.ii.3)

—Blandamour needs only the "sting of lust, that reasons eye did blind" and the pride of victory to turn on his onetime friend. Ate soon plays on these and "like former breaches/ Made in their friend-

* Owen, 329.

ship" (12) to turn Paridell against Blandamour, and the dispute ends in a clash. The Squire of Dames pacifies them with "reason of his words" (28), and they pretend to make up:

And of all old dislikes they made faire weather,
Yet all was forg'd and spred with golden foyle,
That vnder it hidde hate and hollow guyle. (IV.ii.29)

By IV.iv.4 Blandamour is completely and spontaneously contentious, and from now on Ate's ugliness is taken for granted by everyone (IV.iv.9-10). After the tourney she is still stirring up discord over possession of the snowy Florimell (IV.v.22-3). Florimell's voluntary choice of Braggadocio (IV.v.26) is an ironic parody, in part, of amity, since in his "base mind nor friendship dwels nor enmity" (IV.iv.11); his deficiency is one reason why Ate could not provoke him "priuily" to fight for Florimell before. It is dramatically congruous, nevertheless, that Braggadocio, like the others, *see* Ate as a hag. For them, discord is contagious, though Ate's ugliness becomes one thing they implicitly agree on.

There is no doubt, then, that by Canto iv Ate's ugliness is evident to the other characters. Reading back through the text we note that in Canto ii the poet calls her "foule" (3) and "that Hag" (12). Has a transformation already taken place in the eyes of the characters? I believe it has: at that moment when Scudamour cries out, "Vile hag . . . why dost thou lye?" (IV.i.48). Let me briefly trace Spenser's "fine footing" (II.Pr.4) in the allegory of metamorphosis. Scudamour, impetuous by nature, begins the dispute which leads to that outcry of recognition by taunting Paridell while he is still unconscious (IV.i.42). Blandamour is quick to return the taunts without stint (44). A storm of indignation gathers in Scudamour's "manly heart," though he struggles to conceal it (45). Then Duessa, in a travesty of conciliation, casually reminds him, as it were, of Amoret's (supposed) infidelity (46). Hereupon Ate, "mother of debate" (IV.i.19), speaks for the first time. "Vile" indeed (47), she seizes on Duessa's point and elaborates it to mock both Scudamour and his opponent (i. e., Blandamour, for whom Paridell has substituted): while they "striue and storme with stirre outrageous" Amoret "sleepes, and sports, and playes" with another. This, I take it, is the speech of a "lying tongue . . . in two parts diuided" (IV.i.27). It is inconceivable to Spenser that Ate can keep her "faire semblance" any longer, and Scudamour picks up the poet's own word for her. She

has here become as ugly as her lies. With Blandamour's support she testifies:

I saw him haue your *Amoret* at will,
I saw him kisse, I saw him her embrase,
I saw him sleepe with her all night his fill,
All manie nights, and manie by in place,
That present were to testifie the case. (IV.i.49)

Ate's false witness is obviously that of "squinted eyes contrarie wayes intended." But, like contention, jealousy thrives on distortion; and the wound of angry suspicion Scudamour suffers at these words (49) is still rankling when we last hear of Ate in Canto v (30-1).⁴

No sooner has Scudamour gone than Blandamour shifts his "fancie light" from the unpleasant hag to the snowy Florimell (IV.ii.5). Paridell is also attracted to Florimell, also blinded, by lust, to her "false colours" (11); "that Hag" (12), though she started out as Duessa's bawd (IV.i.31), characteristically eggs Paridell on to claim a share in Blandamour's booty—on the explosive grounds of the "couenant" the two knights once swore in friendship.⁵ By IV.iv.6 (as "each of them his Ladie had him by,/ Whose beautie each of them thought excellent") it is uncertain whether Paridell's mind is set on Florimell or Duessa ("Faithlesse Duessa, and false Paridell," IV.i.32); in any event, Duessa misses the beauty contest. As for Blandamour, Ate has alienated him so successfully that he can use her to ridicule

⁴ When Scudamour finally meets up with Britomart she unseats him before he can vent his spleen (IV.vi.10). Thereupon Artagall attacks her with a fury that—owing to the echo of earlier imagery ("Like as the lightning brond from riuen skie,/ Throwne out by angry *Ioue* in his vengeance," IV.vi.14, recalls both IV.i.45 and IV.ii.3, "the tempest of his troubled thought")—seems to discharge some of Scudamour's own wrath at the putative knight he and Artagall have made common cause against (IV.vi.8). Moreover, the poet's amazed comment on Artagall's enraged efforts suggests that perhaps he, too, has had a run-in with Ate ("Certes some hellish furie, or some feend/ This mischiefe framd" IV.vi.17). Things reach a "good end" (IV.vi.25), though the memory of what "that Hag" did to him lingers in Scudamour's heart (IV.vi.28). Later, meteorological imagery is a warning that the discord between the four knights (IV.ix.23) stems from Ate, here named for the last time in Book IV (ix.24). Now the inner contradiction in Blandamour and Paridell's hostility drives them to shift sides like "two Barkes" borne with the "wind and tide" (IV.ix.26); but against Artagall all the fighters gather their strength and spend it in a burst (as of "raine, and haile, and sleet," IV.ix.33), until they are worn out. I suggest that the decorum of the similes and metaphors of weather (cf. also IV.ii.29, quoted above) rests on the uncontrollability no less than the instability, fits, and "jars" of the elements (if not also their visible manifestations—"such as she was, she plaine did show").
⁵ Of course Duessa's former procurress gladly turns informer at the great trial in Book V (ix.47).

Braggadocio and to amuse himself by having her placed, with ludicrous contrast, next to Florimell (IV.iv.9-10). It is not for nothing that the walls of Ate's house "farre vnder ground" bear relics of "deare louers, foes perpetuall" (IV.i.20, 24).

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JOSEPH B. DALLETT

Donne and "Tyr"

In a Lincoln's Inn sermon preached on Ps. 38.4, Donne puzzles his editors with the following reference: "But if any had looked over this place with the same ingenuity as their own great man *Tyr*: (an active man in the *Council of Trent*) hath done over the *Book of Psalms*, in which one Book he hath confessed 6000 places, in which their translation differs from the Originall, they would have seen this difference in this place. . . ."¹ "Tyr" is Lucretius Tiraboscus, the work in question, *Rationes textus hebraei et editionis vulgatae* (Venice, 1572).

Tiraboscus has fallen into perhaps deserved oblivion, but Possevinus assures us that he was "Vir eximia Vitae integritate, Latinae autem, Graece, atq; Hebraice linguae sciens, Philosophus, atque Theologus."² At Trent he represented the patriarchs of Venice, delivering an *Oratio habita ad Patres in Concilio Tridentino . . . 1563*, which was published the same year. This is the only work listed for Tiraboscus in BMC, but he also wrote a commentary *In omnes Psalmos* (Venice, 1572). In 1575 he was elected vicar-general of the Carmelite order. And, finally, some of the Psalm readings of Tiraboscus were considered worthy of inclusion in the stupendous Roman Catholic compilation, *Biblia Maxima* (Paris, 1660).

The extent of Donne's erudition, especially where Biblical commentaries are concerned, is an important but difficult problem. Even when we can fix a source for an interpretation, it is hard to know whether Donne's knowledge was first-hand or culled from such works

¹ *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. E. Simpson and G. Potter (Berkeley, 1955), II, 131; cf. note, p. 397.

² Antonii Possevini, *Apparatus Sacer* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1608), II, 34-35. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius Theologiae Catholicae Theologos . . .* (Oeniponte, 1907), III, 86, also provides information on Tiraboscus.

as the medieval *Glossa Ordinaria* or the seventeenth-century compilations of Cornelius à Lapide. In the case of Tiraboscus, however, there is evidence that Donne's knowledge extended beyond hearsay. In a sermon preached on Ps. 2.12, "Kiss the son, lest he be angry," Donne mentions the reading of "another moderne man," who reads, "*Osculamini pactum, Kisse the Covenant; And, Adorate frumentum, Adore the Corne*, and thereby carries it from the pacification of Christ in heaven, to the adoration of the bread in the Sacrament."³ These readings are ascribed to Tiraboscus in *Biblia Maxima*. So far as I know, no compilatory work published in Donne's lifetime could have provided Donne his information.

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DENNIS QUINN

The Identity of 'M. G.' and 'O. B.' in Rochester's "An Epistolary Essay from M. G. to O. B. Upon Their Mutual Poems"

In the past the Earl of Rochester's reputation for exaggerated egoism has rested largely on two of his poems: "A Very Heroical Epistle in Answer to Ephelia" and "An Epistolary Essay From M. G. to O. B. upon their Mutual Poems." Although the speaker in the former is brutally egotistical, Professor John Harold Wilson has shown that the poem is not an expression of Rochester's own attitudes but rather an ironic epistolary satire on John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, who, as the speaker of the poem, opens himself to ridicule as the epitome of pride.¹ It was Rochester, incidentally, who dubbed Mulgrave "My Lord All-Pride." The "Epistolary Essay from M. G. to O. B.," however, is still regarded as an expression of Rochester's egoism. According to Wilson, his creed contained only two points:

(1) he would write to please himself and pay no heed to the "saucy Censurers" of the Town, and (2) he would criticize the writings of others on the arrogant assumption that only his judgment was sound.²

³ *Sermons*, III, 315.

¹ *The Court Wits of the Restoration* (Princeton, 1948), p. 117.

² *Court Wits*, p. 174.

"Perhaps," Wilson adds, "none of his friends would have stated the matter so bluntly."³

Three recent Rochester scholars have all agreed that the poem is from Rochester to Mulgrave and that it was written before their bitter quarrel in 1669.⁴ Thorpe and de Sola Pinto suggest that the initials in the title stand for "Mercurius Grammaticus to Ovidius Britannicus" or some other such Latinism and thus serve to parody Restoration epistolary style. Such conclusions are doubtless based on the following bibliographical information.⁵ The above title is preceded by "To My Lord Mulgrave, from Rochester" in the University of Harvard's Houghton Library undated MS.636F. Two other undated manuscripts of the period have similar titles, and Francis Saunders's entry in the Stationer's Register on November 19, 1690, for an edition of Rochester includes the title "An epistolari Essay from E. R. to E. M."

I should like to suggest, however, that the poem was not intended to be an expression of the poet's own attitudes, but, instead, an ironic epistolary satire, the same type of satire as the "Epistle to Ephelia," on whomever "M. G." stands for. I feel that Rochester, a bitter foe of pride, presents "M. G." speaking in the first person, as a means of exposing him to ridicule. My reasons are as follows.

First, the title "An Epistolary Essay From M. G. to O. B. upon their Mutual Poems" is the title given in what appear to be the two earliest editions of the poet's work (1680, 1685), and it is also the title given in the 1691 edition. This title contains no hint that the poem is from Rochester to Mulgrave. It would appear that the 1680 title was certainly Rochester's and that later editors expanded or changed the title in order to explain the mysterious initials.

Further, the title of the epistle mentions "their Mutual Poems." Now it is conceivable that Rochester and Mulgrave collaborated on some poems, but there is no evidence to support this supposition. The poem begins,

I Hear this Town does so abound
With saucy Censurers, that Faults are found
With what, of late, We (in Poetic Rage)
Bestowing, threw away on the dull age.

³ *Court Wits*, p. 174.

⁴ *Court Wits*, p. 174; *Poems by John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 191-92; *Rochester's Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. James Thorpe (Princeton, 1950), pp. 172-73.

⁵ My bibliographical information is from de Sola Pinto and Thorpe.

But (howsoe're their spleens may raise,
To rob my Brows of the deserved Bays)
Their thanks, at least, I merit: since through me
They are partakers of your Poetry: (ll. 1-8)

Evidently, the "saucy Censurers" had attributed some of the joint poems to "O. B." alone and thus robbed "M. G." of his deserved recognition. Indeed "M. G.'s" share vastly overshadowed that of "O. B." Later, "M. G." says,

I'le own, that you write better than I do
But I have as much need to write as you.
What though the excrements of my dull Brain,
Flows in a harsh and an insipid strain;
While your rich head eases itself of Wit.
Must none but Civit-Cats have leave to sh*t? (ll. 38-43)

One does not feel that Rochester would deprecate his own poetry to extol Mulgrave's, whose lines do not equal Rochester's.

Had Rochester and Mulgrave collaborated, they would have done so before November, 1669, for in that month the Rochester-Mulgrave quarrel came to a climax and the two remained bitter enemies. In fact, an internal reference to Edward Howard's *The British Princes* would indicate that the poem was written between May, 1669, when *The British Princes* was published, and November, 1669, the climax of the quarrel. This narrowing down seems to lessen the chances that the poem is from Rochester to Mulgrave, for Rochester spent part of this time in France, and who knows how long the quarrel boiled before November, 1669?

I am very much inclined to doubt both that the poem is addressed to Mulgrave or that it expresses Rochester's own feelings. 1) There is nothing in Rochester to indicate that the poem is from him to Mulgrave. 2) Rochester was a bitter foe of pride and was fond of ironic epistolary satire. 3) There is no indication that he and Mulgrave ever collaborated. 4) He and Mulgrave were bitter enemies for the largest part of their careers.

Then for whom do the initials "M. G." and "O. B." stand? I am afraid that they may never be definitely explained. It is tempting to say that "M. G." is Mulgrave, but if one does so he will have trouble finding a counterpart for "O. B." I can find no poet of the Restoration who fills the initials and the character of "O. B." But I should like to offer a suggestion that known facts and reasonable interpreta-

tions seem to bear out. A note in the Bodleian copy of 1691 changes the initials to "M. C." and "D. B." and expands them to "Martin Clifford" and "Duke of Buckingham." The alteration is slight, a *C* for the *G* and a *D* for the *O*. Pope, in his copy of Tonson's edition of the poems, changed the letters to "M. C." and "D. B." (that is, presumably, Martin Clifford and the Duke of Buckingham).⁶ Thorpe calls this alteration unreasonable and de Sola Pinto calls it absurd. I fail to see why it would be unreasonable or absurd—no more unreasonable than the suggestion that the initials stand for "Mercurius Grammaticus to Ovidius Britannicus." Had Rochester intended these Latinisms, why would he have abbreviated them? As far as is known the Latinisms do not represent nicknames for Rochester and Mulgrave. Perhaps the man who altered the initials in the 1691 copy and Pope as well were more perceptive in this matter than they have been given credit for.

If the poem is read as an epistle from Martin Clifford to the Duke of Buckingham, its mysteries at once disappear. It is a known fact that Martin Clifford was employed by the Duke of Buckingham and that he, with others, collaborated with the Duke in writing poetry. The most notable collaboration was the famous burlesque on heroic drama, *The Rehearsal*. In addition, eight poems appeared together shortly after Howard's *The British Princes*, all satirizing Howard's work. There is reason to believe that this sheaf of eight poems was composed at the Duke of Buckingham's estate, with the Duke in collaboration with Martin Clifford and others.⁷ Further, Clifford was known for his pride, and would thus be a choice target for Rochester. Still further, the speaker's reference to the second person as one of the "Civit-Cats" might easily be regarded as an utterance by one not of the nobility (Martin Clifford) to a peer of the realm (the Duke of Buckingham).

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MELVIN DELMAR PALMER

* *Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets . . . By Samuel Johnson*, ed. Peter Cunningham (1854), I, 192.

* See Wilson, *Court Wits*, pp. 177-78.

John Norris and the Veal-Bargrave Story

Although scholars have discovered five contemporary accounts of the Veal-Bargrave story, a rather striking analogue of Defoe's *A True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal* has been overlooked or ignored. This is the poem by John Norris called "Friendship in Perfection" which Mrs. Veal, in Defoe's narrative and subsequent versions of the apparition, asks Mrs. Bargrave to read to her. The similarities between "Friendship in Perfection" and the *Relation* are notable; yet their possible significance may be unrecognized unless they are considered in relation to another and less apparent echo of Norris in Defoe's narrative, an echo of the preface "To the Reader" of Norris's *Miscellanies* (1687), the book in which "Friendship in Perfection" was published. Since *A True Relation* is both the earliest extant account of the apparition to mention Norris and the first to give its details artistic form, an examination of its resemblance to Norris's poem and preface is perhaps justified.

Damon and Pythias: *Or, Friendship in Perfection.*

I.

Pyth. 'Tis true (my *Damon*) we as yet have been
Patterns of constant Love, I know;
We have stuck so close no third could come between,
But will it (*Damon*) will it still be so?

II.

Da. Keep *your* Love true, I dare engage that mine
Shall like my Soul immortal prove.
In Friendship's Orb how brightly shall we shine
Where all shall envy, none divide our Love!

III.

Pyth. Death will; when once (as 'tis by Fate design'd)
T'Elisium you shall be remov'd,
Such sweet Companions there no doubt you'll find,
That you'll forget that *Pythias* e're you lov'd.

IV.

Da. No, banish all such fears; I then will be
Your Friend and guardian Angel too.
And tho' with more refin'd Society
I'll leave *Elysium* to converse with you.

V.

Pyth. But grant that after Fate you still are kind,
You cannot long continue so;

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and

When I, like you, become all Thought and Mind,
By what Mark then shall we each other know?

VI.

Da. With care on your last hour I will attend,
And lest like Souls should me deceive,
I closely will embrace my new-born Friend,
And never after my dear *Pythias* leave.¹

In his "Preface" to *A True Relation*, Defoe has somewhat obscured the similarity of the theme of this poem and his narrative. Whereas Norris used the immortality of the soul to argue the immortality of true friendship (st. II), Defoe used the immortality of true friendship to suggest "that there is a life to come after this."² Consequently the situations in the two pieces appear similarly reversed: to ensure the immortality of their friendship, the ghost of Damon will reaffirm his love in the "last hour" of Pythias's life; as an illustration of the immortality of the soul, the ghost of Mrs. Veal renews her friendship with Mrs. Bargrave during the first hours of death. Both the poem and the narrative, however, express the idea that death is not the end of friendship. Like Pythias (st. I), moreover, Mrs. Veal had long insisted that "no circumstance of life shall ever dissolve my friendship" (p. 342). Her remark—that "if the eyes of our faith were as open as the eyes of our body, we should see numbers of angels about us for ovr guard" (p. 343)—calls to mind both the problem posed by Pythias (st. V), and Damon's assurance that he will be a "guardian Angel" as well as a friend (st. IV). Finally, Mrs. Bargrave's mistaken belief that prosperity in another society had made Mrs. Veal forget her (p. 343) resembles Pythias's fears about the "sweet Companions" Damon will meet in Elysium (st. III). (There may be even a witty suggestion of the last point in the social implications of Norris's metaphysically "refin'd Society.")

One is tempted, in the light of these analogies, to suggest that Damon's promise to "leave *Elysium* to converse" with Pythias (st. IV) is actually the germ of the story related by Mrs. Bargrave. However, without some reason to suspect the accidental character of these similarities, there is still no proof that the poem was not cited simply as an apt commentary on the situation described in the *Relation* (or perhaps as the apparent means by which Mrs. Veal was to let Mrs.

¹ John Norris, *A Collection of Miscellanies: Consisting of Poems. Essays. Discourses & Letters, Occasionally Written*, 4th ed. (London, 1706), pp. 77-78.

² *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel De Foe* (Oxford, 1840), v, 339.

Bargrave know the nature of her visit.) The less easily explained similarities between the *Relation* and Norris's preface may, to some extent, constitute evidence for such proof. Even inconclusive evidence of plagiarism may shake our faith in the strongest illusion of "accidental similarity."

The resemblance of *A True Relation* to Norris's preface consists for the most part in three sets of parallels: first, that between Norris's comparison of primitive and modern Christianity and ancient and modern poetry, together with his implicit endorsement of the ancients as an ideal, and Mrs. Veal's comparison of primitive and modern Christians, and her recommendation of the former as an ideal; second, the parallel between Norris's representation of modern poetry and Mrs. Veal's representation of modern conversation; and third, the parallel between Norris's statement of the nature and effect of classical poetry, and Mrs. Veal's statement of the effect of the conversation of primitive Christians. The pertinent passages of Norris's "To the Reader" are here quoted from the first two pages of his preface:

. . . I have only leisure at present to observe, that Poetry is of late mightily fall'n from the Beauty of its Idea, and from its ancient Majesty and Grandeur, as well as Credit and Reputation.

. . . Yet so it happens, that which we generally have now adays is no more like the thing it was formerly, than *Modern Religion* is like *Primitive Christianity*.

"Tis with this as with our Musick. From grave, majestic, solemn strains, where deep instructive Sense is sweetly convey'd in charming numbers . . . 'tis now for the most part dwindled down to light, frothy stuff, consisting either of mad extravagant Rants, or slight Witticisms, and little amorous Conceits. . . .

The truth is, this most Excellent and Divine Art has of late been so cheapned . . . that Poetry is almost grown out of Repute, and Men come strongly prejudiced against any thing of this kind, as expecting nothing but Froth and Emptiness. . . .

But certainly he [the poet] had once another Character . . . Poetry was once the *Mistress* . . . which gave the first, and (if we may judge by the effects) perhaps the best Institutes for the moralizing and governing the Passions of Mankind.

The Design therefore of the present Undertaking is to restore the declining Genius of Poetry to its Primitive and genuine Greatness. . . .³

The corresponding passage in *A True Relation* immediately precedes the reference to Norris's poem:

Then Mrs. Veal mentioned Dr. Kenrick's [i. e., Horneck's] *Ascetick*, at the

* A Collection of *Miscellanies*, sigs. a-a.v. Italics are reversed.

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end of which he gives an account of the lives of the primitive Christians. Their pattern she recommended to our imitation, and said, their conversation was not like this of our age: For now, says she, there is nothing but frothy, vain discourse, which is far different from theirs. Theirs was to edification, and to build one another up in faith; so that they were not as we are, nor are we as they were: but, says she, we ought to do as they did. . . . Says Mrs. Veal, Mr. Norris has a fine copy of verses, called *Friendship in Perfection*, which I wonderfully admire. Have you seen the book? says Mrs. Veal. No, says Mrs. Bargrave, but I have the verses of my own writing out (pp. 344-45).

Mrs. Veal's remarks on conversation, it will be seen, are analogous to Norris's remarks on poetry, and it might be said that both employ neoclassical criteria of excellence, criticizing the moderns for vanity and emptiness, and praising the ancients for those qualities which teach and edify. It is not, of course, surprising to find two critics in this period extolling the ancients over the moderns and placing judgment above the imagination. But the affinity is even more apparent in the manner of the two passages. The repeated emphasis upon the difference between past and present is common to both, and in each the discussion moves from the topic of religion to that of discourse. Finally, although only two words in Norris's preface are repeated in the *Relation*—*primitive* and *frothy*—they are the only two distinctive words used twice by Norris. These similarities of treatment, if real, cannot be attributed to coincidence. Moreover, if they are real, they serve to weaken the explanation—as coincidence—of the certainly real similarities between Norris's poem and Defoe's narrative, to suggest, in fact, some sort of causal connection between the two. Mrs. Bargrave's denial that she had "seen the book" in which Norris's poem was printed is not a valid objection to such a conclusion. Indeed, since "*Friendship in Perfection*" was nowhere else printed, this statement may be the final proof of her deception. From what source had she the verses in her "own writing out"? On the other hand, the absence of any similarity to Norris in the two earlier accounts of the apparition (the Lukyn letter of 9 October 1705, and the *Loyal Post* account of 24 December 1705) might indicate that Defoe, not Mrs. Bargrave, was responsible for the resemblances pointed out here. Mrs. Veal's citation of "*Friendship in Perfection*" may have sent him back to the original for his own "*Preface*" and for details from Norris's poem and preface with which he touched up Mrs. Bargrave's story.

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Poe's "To Helen"

Criticism of Edgar Allan Poe's "To Helen" has been generally based on three assumptions: that Poe's Helen is to be identified with Helen of Troy; that "the weary, way-worn wanderer" is a not-too-veiled reference to Ulysses; and that Poe ineptly allows Helen to direct Ulysses "To his own native shore." A recent commentator on the poem, making all of these assumptions, concludes that "the classical symbols used to express the experience do not bear a corresponding relationship to each other."¹ On the surface, this seems to be a logical conclusion, for certainly Ulysses' return to Ithaca cannot be traced to the beauty or good offices of Helen.

I believe that "To Helen," far from being a farrago of classical *non sequiturs*, contains consistent, well-discriminated, and functional imagery. In my brief discussion of the role played in the poem by Helen, "the weary, way-worn wanderer," and the poet, I hope, by emphasizing the clarity and precision of Poe's art, to answer some current objections to the poem.

Helen, of course, is the unifying symbol of the poem. Since she represents "ideal" love, however, is it not arbitrary to assume that she must be incongruously associated with the archetypal representative of sexual love? I should like to suggest that, when Poe conceived of Helen as spiritual love, the traditional Helen suffered a "sea change." A new Helen emerged, the very antithesis of the destructive beauty whose face "launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium." In the poem, Helen does not launch the poet onto the seas toward a protracted war; instead, through her spiritual influence, she resolves his conflict with the "desperate seas" by gently guiding him home.

What has happened is simply explained: Poe assumed the poet's prerogative to reinterpret or recreate the Helen myth in terms of his own artistic disposition and needs. In other words, Poe's Helen is defined by Poe's poem and not by the role played by Helen in Classical or Renaissance literature. Such lines as

Ah, Psyche, from the regions which
Are Holy-Land!

make it impossible to import into the poem the concept of Helen as

¹ Warren S. Walker, "Poe's 'To Helen,'" *MLN*, LXXII (1957), 491-492.

sensuous beauty. Moreover, Poe's well-known critical statement about the kind of beauty that should be the special concern of poets betrays a deep-seated predilection for spiritual as opposed to physical beauty:

For, in regard to Passion, alas! its tendency is to degrade, rather than to elevate the Soul. Love, on the contrary—Love—the true, the divine Eros—the Uranian as distinguished from the Dionæan Venus—is unquestionably the purest and truest of all poetical themes.*

Once Poe has refined an ethereal Psyche from the earthy Helen, she becomes a savior and an inspiration.

It is Helen's role as savior, however, that has led to critical difficulties. Yet, the widespread assumption that Poe makes her the agent of Ulysses' or the way-worn wanderer's return to his "own native shore" cannot be supported by the poem. Careful reading demonstrates that Helen's beauty is *like* the barks which carried the wanderer home. That is, she and the barks are symbols of salvation, but her beauty is compared to and not equated with the barks. Clearly, Helen performs for the poet the same beneficent function which the barks (and not Helen) performed for Ulysses.

The distinction between the poet and Ulysses, when understood, further helps to absolve Poe of the charge of negligence in the use of his classical imagery. Admittedly, the poet is a Ulyssean wanderer on "desperate seas"; yet he is a modern Ulysses capable, as the Homeric Ulysses was not, of reaching Rome as well as Greece. He is indeed Poe's correlative for the artist seeking a spiritual home in the fragmented nineteenth century world and finding it through the ideal woman (Helen) who puts him in touch with

. . . the glory that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome.

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* Edgar Allan Poe, "The Poetic Principle."

Section 50 of Whitman's "Song of Myself"

Section 50 of "Song of Myself," though one of the most baffling among Whitman's many obscure passages, has elicited little discussion in print. In its final version it reads as follows:

There is that in me—I do not know what it is—but I know
it is in me.
Wrench'd and sweaty—calm and cool then my body becomes,
I sleep—I sleep long.
I do not know it—it is without name—it is a word unsaid,
It is not in any dictionary, utterance, symbol.
Something it swings on more than the earth I swing on,
To it the creation is the friend whose embracing awakes me.
Perhaps I might tell more. Outlines! I plead for my
brothers and sisters.
Do you see O my brothers and sisters?
It is not chaos or death—it is form, union, plan—it is
eternal life—it is Happiness.¹

What Whitman seems to say here may perhaps be paraphrased as follows: There is something in me that I cannot describe but of which I am absolutely sure. When I am aware of it I am so much at peace that my wrenched and sweaty body becomes so calm and cool that I sleep long. I do not realize its existence by knowledge. This something is nameless and is not to be represented by a symbol. (I guess that Whitman here means by *symbol* a conventional sign such as a character, letter, or abbreviation used instead of words, as in mathematics, music, etc.).

This something swings on a base of more amplitude than the earth that supplies the base I swing on. Creation—or nature—acts as a friend who awakens me to a realization of this something.

Perhaps I might tell more about it, suggest more by outlines. I plead for others—my brothers and sisters—[to understand?]

Do you see, my brothers and sisters? This something is not chaos but form, union, plan; not death but eternal life. It means happiness.

But what is this something—it? Sections 49 and 51 provide no help in answering the question, for, like many other parts of the poem, they are separate combinations of ideas and impressions presented as *disjecta membra* of the whole. Nor is help to be derived from the earlier texts of Section 50. The changes made in it from the time

¹ *Leaves of Grass*, Inclusive Edition, ed. Emory Holloway (Garden City, N. Y., 1954), p. 75.

of first publication in 1855, aside from matters of punctuation, are the deletion of the word *or* originally placed before *utterance* and *symbol* in line 5 and the deletion of *and* originally placed before *union* and *plan* in line 10.

If it were not for the intense earnestness explicit in these ten lines one might conclude that Whitman was indulging his taste for riddles, a taste gratified here and there in *Leaves of Grass* and culminating in "A Riddle Song."² But the obscurity of Section 50 had better be taken as unintentional.

A passage in Section 2 of "A Song for Occupations" appears to be closely related in idea:

There is something that comes to one now and perpetually,
It is not what is printed, preach'd, discussed, it eludes dis-
cussion and print,
It is not to be put in a book, it is not in this book,
It is for you whoever you are, it is no farther from you than
your hearing and sight are from you,
It is hinted by nearest, commonest, readiest, it is ever pro-
voked by them.
You may read in many languages, yet read nothing about it,
You may read the President's message and read nothing
about it there,
Nothing in the reports from the State department or Treasury
department, or in the daily papers or weekly papers,
Or in the census or revenue returns, prices current, or any
accounts of stock.³

But even if these lines, as they may well have been, were originally composed as part of Section 50 of "Song of Myself," they still leave the reader in the dark so far as an explanation of the "something" is concerned.

The best clue to an interpretation of Section 50 is, I think, supplied by a few lines in the ninth paragraph of Whitman's essay "Carlyle

² First published in the *Sunnyside Press* in 1880; Inclusive Edition, pp. 307-308. In this poem Whitman again uses the pronoun *it* to refer to the key to the riddle but adds "Two little breaths of words comprising it, / Two words, yet all from first to last comprised in it" (ll. 21-22). R. M. Bucke suggested "good cause" or "old cause"; William S. Kennedy guessed "the ideal"; and Horace Traubel reported that Whitman himself had forgotten the key (*With Walt Whitman in Camden*, New York, 1908, II, 228).

³ Inclusive Edition, pp. 179-180. The 1855 text of this passage differs chiefly in punctuation or a few minor words, except for line 5, which originally read: "It is hinted by nearest and commonest and readiest . . . it is not them, though it is endlessly provoked by them. . . . What is there ready and near you now?"

from American Points of View" embedded in *Specimen Days*:

There is, apart from mere intellect, in the make-up of every superior human identity, (in its moral completeness, considered as *ensemble*, not for that moral alone, but for the whole being, including physique,) a wondrous something that realizes without argument, frequently without what is called education, (though I think it the goal and apex of all education deserving the name)—an intuition of the absolute balance, in time and space, of the whole of this multifarious, mad chaos of fraud, frivolity, hoggishness—this revel of fools, and incredible make-believe and general unsettledness, we call *the world*; a soul-sight of that divine clue and unseen thread which holds the whole congeries of things, all history and time, and all events, however trivial, however momentous, like a leash'd dog in the hand of the hunter. Such soul-sight and root-centre for the mind—mere optimism explains only the surface or fringe of it—Carlyle was mostly, perhaps entirely without.*

If my interpretation is correct, Section 50 is concerned with mystical intuition, the "soul-sight" which for Whitman was indeed the "root-centre for the mind." What he says about this unifying intuition—or, rather, hints about it—in the section conforms very well with the ineffability and the noetic quality considered to be characteristic of mysticism,⁵ though the passage in poetical virtuosity falls far below the level of Section 5 of "Song of Myself" or the *lumen de lumine* motif in "Passage to India," Section 8, and in the "Prayer of Columbus."

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Traditional Ideas in Dickinson's "I Felt a Funeral in My Brain"

Since its initial publication, in the 1896 edition of her poems,¹ Emily Dickinson's "I felt a funeral in my brain" has been widely accepted, for varying reasons, as one of her most successful poems. Critics, at least those who have commented on this poem in print, have accepted the idea that the poem concerns simply the emotion

* *Complete Prose Works* (Boston, 1907), p. 167.

² Gay Allen conveniently summarizes the characteristics of mysticism in *Walt Whitman Handbook* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 241-254.

³ *Poems*, Third Series, ed. Mabel Loomis Todd (Boston, 1896).

experienced at a funeral by a sensitive individual;² and consequently, none has felt it necessary to make a sustained attempt to work out the poem in terms of either its images, diction, or, for that matter, any of the ideas historically present in the poem. My own observations have convinced me that the poem undoubtedly involves something more than the poet's exercise of her ability to ring the changes of her emotions. The text has been established by Thomas H. Johnson in his recent edition of her poems:

I felt a Funeral, in my Brain,
And Mourners to and fro
Kept treading—treading—till it seemed
That Sense was breaking through—

And when they all were seated,
A Service, like a Drum—
Kept beating—beating—till I thought
My Mind was going numb—

And then I heard them lift a Box
And creak across my Soul
With those same Boots of Lead, again,
Then Space—began to toll,

As all the Heavens were a Bell,
And Being, but an Ear,
And I, and Silence, some strange Race
Wrecked, solitary, here—

And then a Plank in Reason, broke,
And I dropped down, and down—
And hit a World, at every plunge,
And Finished knowing—then—³

It is merely the surface of the poem (to distinguish it from the intensely emotional and intellectual situation) which is concerned with

² See Richard Chase, *Emily Dickinson* (New York, 1951), p. 246, and Thomas H. Johnson, *Emily Dickinson* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 212, whose similar comments, slight as they are, are based upon an examination of the complete poem as it first appeared in print in Millicent Todd Bingham's account, "Poems of Emily Dickinson: Hitherto Published Only in Part," *New England Quarterly*, xx (March, 1947), 26-7. Prior to 1947 there had been no reason to believe that the poem, as it had appeared for over fifty years, was incomplete; consequently, George F. Whicher in his biography, *This Was a Poet* (New York, 1938), p. 298, judging it on the basis of its truncated form, decides that the poet was describing "the feeling of being present at her own funeral." Henry W. Wells, in his *Introduction to Emily Dickinson* (Chicago, 1947), p. 88, endorses this reading.

³ *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, 1955), I, 199-200—No. 280.

a funeral. Since the "Funeral" works as a sustained metaphor, our understanding of the poem does not depend in any way upon the identification of the event which gave rise to it and to which the poem, in a limited sense, seems to refer. Nor, for that matter, does it depend upon the assumption that the speaker is imagining her own funeral. Actually the metaphoric funeral serves to liberate the individual soul or being within the poem. That the occasions of death and funerals, among her major sacramental experiences, identify and indeed evoke this kind of highly distilled experience is evident in her poetry as a whole. The central concern of the poem, the true experience, touched off by contemplation of the formal incident of ceremonious burial, is artistic, aesthetic, and intellectual. The crucial experience of the poem is not death itself, of course; rather the poem is based upon the evolving experience of intuiting, emotionally and spiritually, a meaning beyond the fact of death. In this poem, at least in part, we have embodied an experience of power which recalls that of the redemptive power of grace. To substantiate these general observations, of course, requires a closer look at the poem than we are accustomed to giving it.

My experience of the poem organizes itself upon the series of terms (one in each stanza) from "Brain" in the first line through "Mind," "Soul," "Being," and "Reason." At first glance these seem to be among the poet's "broadest," most abstract terms, but the careful sequence is interesting. There is an imposing progression upwards through forms, from the physical aspect suggested by "Brain" to the combined spiritual and intellectual commitment of "Reason." There seems to be no question that the consistent progression of terms was done consciously, for she originally wrote "Brain" also in line ten, but she quickly changed it to "Soul."⁴

There is no external evidence that the poet knew Pascal at first hand. Yet this sequence resembles, in a way which is limited to the context of this poem, Pascal's orders of being—nature, mind, and charity. At times he designates this triad: mineral, vegetable, animal; and body, mind, soul. Pascal's tri-partite formulation, going back at least to Plotinus, has had a somewhat unpopular, but stubborn effect upon modern thought. In the words of a recent writer Pascal had "become certain that there is a realm of truths which the reasoning intellect cannot, by itself, comprehend. We do comprehend these truths, but not by analytical reasoning. The perception of an order

* Johnson, *Poems*, I, 200.

of charity, whose distance above the order of mind was 'infinitely more infinite' than that of minds over bodies, implied our possession of a means of grasping the truths that are in this highest order. He calls this faculty *le cœur*, a name with romantic associations but not here used with romantic intention."⁵ The hierarchy of perception is attuned to the arrangement of ascending orders. Translated into terms which were closer to Amherst in time and place, those of Emerson (who, incidentally, knew the *Pensées* intimately), the order of *charity* corresponds to his *Reason* with its intuitive, emotional grasp of spiritual truth. The presence of this order in a Dickinson poem, when not actually denoted by the term *Reason*, may be signalled by such words as *noon* and *circumference*. In the terms of this particular poem we can see that it is concerned with (1) the transcendence of the limitations of the first two orders until (2) complete being operates in the order of charity, by which intuitive knowledge is obtained, and (3) the speaker's return from transcendent being back down through the orders, "hit[ting] a World at every plunge." The movements of the experienced funeral then correspond to and evoke the stages of the poet's progress to some sort of eschatological knowledge.

Behind the poet's use of the term *Reason* lies Emerson's familiar distinction between Understanding and Reason, which Emily certainly knew from his *Essays*. A convenient definition is provided by Emerson in a letter to his brother Edward:

Reason is the highest faculty of the soul—what we mean often by the soul itself; it never *reasons*, never proves, it simply perceives; it is vision. The Understanding toils all the time, compares, contrives, adds, argues, near sighted but strong-sighted, dwelling in the present the expedient the customary. Beasts have some understanding but no Reason. Reason is potentially perfect in every man—Understanding in very different degrees of strength. The thoughts of youth, & 'first thoughts,' are the revelations of Reason. The love of the beautiful & of Goodness as the highest beauty the belief in the absolute & universal superiority of the Right & the True. . . .⁶

Accepting "the revelations of Reason," as Emerson's transcendental

⁵ Ernest Mortimer, *Blaise Pascal* (New York, 1959), p. 207. His definition of Pascal's usage of the term *le cœur* is applicable here: "He did not mean that it was cardiac rather than cerebral; probably so far as physiology comes into it *le cœur* uses the brain as much as *l'esprit* does, but uses it differently. It composes instead of separating; it replaces analysis by cognition; and it goes much more immediately to the core and meaning of the object perceived" (p. 208).

⁶ *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York, 1939), I, 412-3.

philosophy required, Emily coupled these revelations with the Puritan belief that truth revealed through experience is abrupt and immediate, but incontrovertible. Consequently, we can see why the surface of this poem is almost exclusively concerned with the incidents of what purports to be the original experience, the funeral, which in the achieved poem becomes no more than the initiating formality. But the truth embodied in this experience is released for the poet through her intuitive, committed perception. In other words, truth is then immediately perceived by Reason, the highest faculty of being, through a specific experience, in this case, of one of the poet's sacramental events. The moment of achieving direct knowledge of the absolute, in this case, eternity, is recorded in the lines: "Then Space—began to toll,/ As All the Heavens were a Bell, / And Being, but an Ear". But it is of necessity momentary. This absorption, created by the complementing of function and fulfillment, transforms the speaker into a seer in Emerson's terms. At this moment she is *en rapport* with her entire world through personal involvement; in Puritan terms it is the moment of regeneration. The tolling of space and the listening of Being become complementary parts of a metaphysical integration, analogously recalling the familiar Puritan metaphor of unregenerate man as an empty vessel waiting in a preliminary state, but necessarily only half-expecting to be filled by grace. Regeneration for the Puritans, writes Perry Miller, "was the act of communion in which the infinite impinged upon the finite, when the misery of the fragmentary was replaced by the delight of the wholeness."⁷ But the moment of perceiving eternal truth is surpassed. The staging of her highest perception collapses. The moment of complete commitment, the moment of successful achievement of Reason is followed by a dropping down, hitting "a World, at every plunge" [an alternative for *plunge*, which is rejected by Johnson, is *crash*]—until, we assume, she strikes the bottom which is man's customary state of suspecting, deducing, and only half-knowing.

The final line, "And Finished knowing—then—" is designedly ambiguous. The poet's alternative reading of "Got through" for "Finished" does not materially change the meaning or eliminate the ambiguity. In either form the line suggests both that after the "Plank in Reason, broke" her experiencing of intuitive knowledge was curtailed at that instant—that she returned to herself, back to

⁷ Chase, *Dickinson*, p. 147.

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the material "I"; and that as a result of the emotional experience, occasioned by a funeral, actual and ideal, she ended by knowing something of final things. This ambiguity echoes and completes that of line four, "That Sense was breaking through," which marks the beginning of the significant experience, in that sense, again referring to "understanding," was fortunately collapsing at the outset (just as "the Plank in Reason" broke in line 17) with the result that the poet was verging upon what the understanding would customarily call irrationality or, in more extreme instances, insanity; and also that sense, sense of something beyond the temporal experience of the funeral, was finally "breaking through" to being. The reflected use of these terms enables the poet to embody in a single line the necessary collapse of the limitations of the understanding of man in order that he may transcend his limitations to the immediate truths of Reason; just as the final line embodies both the inevitable end of the transcending experience and an affirmation of its highest value as an experience of eternity.

In summary, then, we can say that the poem is concerned with the intuitive knowledge of eternity gained through an intimation of death, one of the few experiences which enable the finite to impinge upon the infinite; which allows man to know of final things in the sense that every man's Reason is theoretically perfect and thereby capable of knowing them. Still another historical approach to the universal import of this poem can be made through the recognition that the similarity of ideas and diction suggests that Milton's *Paradise Lost* lies prominently in its background. In book V, Adam entertains the messenger God has sent him to inform him of his danger and to identify his enemy:

Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass,
Given him by this great conference, to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in heaven, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far; whose radiant forms,
Divine effulgence, whose high power so far
Exceeded human [lines 451-9; italics are mine]

But capable emissary that he is, Raphael replies with an encouraging, yet restrained statement on the human condition:

O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom

All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, *one first matter all,*
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life:
But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure,
As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending,
Each in their *several active spheres assign'd,*
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aer'y, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes; flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal
To intellectual; give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive or intuitive; discourse
Is oftenest yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same
[lines 469-90; italics are again mine]

Emily Dickinson translated these "various forms, various degrees / Of substance" and "several active spheres" into her series of "Worlds" of awareness which ascend to the infinite and toward the eternal. Such terms as "sense," "soul," "Reason," and "being" identify the basic similarity of the climate in which her idea of man's transcending, even for no more than a flashing moment, the limitations of his corporeal being, is superimposed upon what we take to be Milton's own description of man's earthly limits. Her adaptation and treatment of these ideas, of course, actually involve an extension of the terms upon which man can momentarily break through his boundaries to partake of eternal knowledge—in this case, through emotional and aesthetic commitment.

Milton's Puritanism was undoubtedly part and parcel of her intellectual and religious background; just as it is a cultural fact that *Paradise Lost*, key document in this tradition, was standard fare in Dickinson's Amherst. This poem, in its own way, is an astringent evaluation of Milton's views on the limits of man. The emotional and aesthetic experience of the poetry, painful and costly as it is to the speaker, allows her to break through to a perception of eternity which is traditionally, in her terms, the province of the dead—the genuine elect. The poet accomplishes this through her private function as seer,

to distinguish it from that of Emerson's social poet. Emily Dickinson's poem records in its entirety, not a triumph of Reason—it is that in part—but the complex of triumph and failure, temporal and eternal, that informs and defines the human condition, which is persistently, indeed desperately, trying to be different from what it is.

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GEORGE MONTEIRO

The Symbolic Unity of "The Monster"

As a writer of short fiction, Stephen Crane has never received much attention beyond "The Open Boat," "The Blue Hotel," and "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky." Critics have pointed out some virtues in another story, "The Monster," but almost no one considers it seriously because it lacks unity.¹

One fruitful suggestion has been made, however, that "The Monster" bears many similarities to Henrik Ibsen's "problem" plays.² Though no one can prove any conscious debt on Crane's part, "The Monster" is a "problem" story—a cause and effect story—one of the best of its kind in American fiction. The story is skillfully told; it is unified; it succeeds in achieving its intention. Crane was not interested in depicting Henry Johnson as the monster; the monster is society, and it becomes the anti-heroic central character only after Henry's tragedy. Crane, then, is primarily interested in effects. The story rightly presents this problem of effects (Chapters X-XXIV) after the cause for Henry's disfigurement and imbecility has been laid (Chapters I-IX).

The twenty-four chapter divisions serve Crane's purpose well, for he presents each ironic chapter as a dramatic scene.³ At times, he

¹ William M. Gibson, ed., *The Red Badge of Courage And Selected Prose and Poetry* (Rinehart Editions, 1956), p. xii. (All page references to "The Monster" and "The Open Boat" are to this edition.) Also see R. W. Stallman, "Stephen Crane: A Revaluation" in John W. Aldridge, ed., *Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction* (New York, 1952), p. 258; Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1923), pp. 163-64.

One recent critic is almost alone in his praise of "The Monster"; see John Berryman, *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1950), p. 191.

² Lars Ahnebrink, *The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction* (Uppsala, 1950), pp. 378-81.

³ Like many another established novelist—Henry James, Mark Twain, and William Dean Howells, to name a few—Crane was a frustrated dramatist. He frequently used dramatic techniques in his fiction. See Berryman, pp. 132,

focuses on the individual; then he widens his arc gradually, immersing the whole of the Whilomville community in the developing action. Crane plays between these two poles, and as he does so, he deepens his satire on individuals who represent the community's monstrosity, hypocrisy, stupidity, and savagery; simultaneously he deepens the atmospheric sense of ostracism, which slowly permeates the action and is climactically present at the story's end. The several minor climaxes (like the fire) are created before the major one to give more emotional force to the theme.

The opening chapter-scene sets in motion the atmosphere of impending ostracism, the symbolic action, which expands and gains in momentum in the following chapters. Little Jim Trescott, while riding his cart, accidentally creates a "monster" by destroying a peony. He tries to "stand it on its pins, resuscitated, but the spine of it was hurt, and it would only hang limply from his hand. Jim could do no reparation" (p. 122). Jim's father, Doctor Trescott, punishes his son by not allowing him to play any longer that day. Here, in little, is foreshadowed Henry Johnson's accident and the "problem" of the story.

Crane extends the symbol of the peony incident by linking Jim's destiny with Henry's, who takes care of the doctor's horses (Chapter II). Further, fuller treatment is given to Henry (Chapter III). The townspeople, who have the important function of a chorus, sometimes hostile, sometimes friendly, sometimes contradictory, are "impressed" by him. Though Henry is described as happy and confident, there is an omen of his future: ". . . he turned away from the scene of his victories into a narrow side street, where the electric light still hung high, but only to exhibit a row of tumble-down houses leaning together like paralytics" (p. 129).

The arc slowly widens into the group world (Chapter IV). Here, as elsewhere, Crane depends on a structure of ironic contrasts to build up the atmosphere of potential disaster. The gaiety of a band concert is followed by the sinister note of a fire, which breaks out at Doctor Trescott's house. As Crane moves the action to the immediate scene of the fire before and during the arrival of the firemen (Chapters V-IX), he portrays the anxiousness of the crowd, the reactions of the man who originally saw the fire, the rescuer, Henry Johnson, the converging of the various elements of Whilomville society, and a

207, 249. Also see John D. Gordan, "The Ghost at Brede Place," *Bulletin New York Public Library*, LVI (December, 1952), 591-96.

climax. Though Jim is rescued, the monster is created when one of Doctor Trescott's jars splinters and pours down into Henry's upturned face (p. 139).

Now having clearly delineated the cause of Henry's disfigurement and imbecility, and having magnified the atmosphere of doom, Crane passes to the community's spirit (Chapter IX), preparing the way for the major action of the story—the indictment of society as the monster (and the transference of the sense of ostracism from Henry to the Trescotts). For example, the young boys who are watching the fire are satirically portrayed (pp. 141-142). Crane also satirizes the adult world. There is the man with "information" who is completely misinformed (p. 143). Another adult's role is to deliver the awful final judgment: "Oh, they'll die sure. Burned to flinders. No chance. Hull lot of 'em. Anybody can see."

The extended description of the group during the fire is the important introduction to the way in which it will react to this monster created by chance. Effects and their importance in the ensuing action (Chapters X-XXIV) have their proper motivation. At first, the effect on the town is wholesome. Judge Hagenhorpe welcomes the distressed Trescotts (Chapter X). The town newspaper is eulogistic and misinformed as it announces the death of Henry Johnson, but at least the editorial has a salutary effect (p. 144). The boys of the community see Johnson as a "saint." And Miss Bella Farragut, to show her remorse over the supposed loss of her lover, exaggerates her relationship and announces "that she had been engaged to marry him" (p. 145).

There is an abrupt counter movement (Chapter XI) and a clear transference of the monster symbol from Henry to the Whilomville community, and the sense of ostracism from Henry to Doctor Trescott. The judge advances a monstrous suggestion, which he considers just: "No one wants to advance such ideas, but somehow I think that that poor fellow ought to die. . . . You [Doctor Trescott] are restoring him to life. You are making him, and he will be a monster, and with no mind" (p. 147). Trescott ignores the judge's advice and attempts to repay Johnson's bravery by having a fellow Negro, Alec Williams, take care of him (Chapter XII). This solution has the same effect as it did on the judge. There is the short-lived welcome; then there follows a growing fear of having accepted the monster. Alec displays his monstrous hypocrisy by going to the judge and complaining that he can no longer keep Henry because his children cannot eat and his

wife cannot receive callers (Chapter XIII). In reality what he wants is more money (p. 153).

Another movement from the individual to the group world follows (Chapter XIV)—this time to Reifsnyder's barber shop, where the group repeats and extends the "problem" of the monster. The group's thinking is evident when several of Reifsnyder's customers argue over the questions posed earlier by the judge; and they take sides on the issue (p. 157).

There is the return to the individual again (Chapter XV) and a more heightened sensitivity to Alec's new life with the monster. With higher pay, he is like a "balloon" and does not know that he is being ostracized by his neighbors (p. 158). Deflation quickly sets in, however, for Alec returns home to find that Henry has disappeared; so he runs wildly, looking for Doctor Trescott. Meanwhile, his family dramatizes the full meaning of Henry's escape: they stand "quaking" until daylight (p. 161).

This striking contrast of happiness and fear, seen earlier in Henry's visit to his girl friend and in the episode of the band concert, becomes increasingly meaningful to the Whiomville community when Theresa Page gives a party (Chapter XVI). One girl sees the wandering Henry from the window and is so badly frightened that she "was not coherent even to her mother" (p. 163). This arc of fear widens even more (Chapter XVII). Henry visits Bella and her mother, frightening them both away (pp. 163-164). A climax of fear is reached when the crowd responds to the roaming monster (Chapter XVIII). They "chased him, firing rocks" (p. 165). Here, for the first time, Doctor Trescott personally feels the effects of his loyalty to Henry. The police chief tells him that Winter, the father of the frightened girl, wanted to have him arrested (p. 165).

Following this, there is a choral "relief" when Crane turns to another monster, Martha Goodwin, an old maid whose occupation is to have "adamantine opinions" about everything. She is the most "savage critic" in town. She says of Trescott: "Serves him right if he was to lose all his patients." In this way she foreshadows the gradually widening breach between Trescott and the community.

Crane moves to the children's world to study further the effects of Trescott's humanitarianism. Little Jim and his friends play a cruel game with the pathetic Henry. They charge one another with cowardice, for no one is brave enough to walk up to Henry and touch him. After Jim succeeds in this ritual of courage he says to another:

" You ain't afraid, hey? If you ain't afraid go do it, then" (p. 170). Doctor Trescott returns to witness this scene and becomes more grimly aware of another effect of his humaneness. His own child has turned into a monster.

Further shocking effects pile up (Chapter XXI). Trescott is angrily turned away by his former patient Winter, when he attempts to attend to his daughter (p. 176). Reverberations of this incident follow and Martha Goodwin discusses them (Chapter XXII). She conveys the truth of the situation—that Winter's daughter, supposedly sick, attends school. Yet Martha displays her hypocrisy by contradicting her earlier hostility toward Trescott (p. 177). As she condemns the whole town for being "silly," Martha argues with others over the Hannigans who are moving out of the neighborhood as a protest over Trescott's stand against the community. The conversation dissipates into a piddling argument as to exactly where the Hannigans are going to move. Ironically enough, the major issue—Trescott's "problem"—is completely forgotten.

The community's increasing hostility is represented by four men, who call on Trescott and try to convince him that Henry should be sent away "up the valley" or to a public institution (Chapter XXIII). Trescott rejects the group's proposal. For this, he receives the final repercussions from the Whilomville world (Chapter XXIV). The doctor returns home to find his wife crying. She usually receives callers on Wednesdays and only one guest arrived. Trescott tries to console her, and as he surveys the empty scene at the story's climactic end, he silently feels the last monstrous step taken by the community: "As he sat holding her head on his shoulder, Trescott found himself occasionally trying to count the cups. There were fifteen of them." Trescott's duty to a man who has saved his son has been paid in full—with ostracism.

This last chapter encloses the action superbly. Throughout, the rhythm of the story,⁴ the unity of it, is clearly pronounced and effectively modulated. It is similar to the rhythm of the sea, as described in "The Open Boat": "The horizon narrowed and widened, and dipped and rose and at all times its edge was jagged with waves that seemed thrust up in points like rocks" (p. 70). After a full study of the horizon of Whilomville—looking at the "problem" narrowly,

⁴ Here I refer to E. M. Forster's definition of rhythm—"repetition plus variation." See his *Aspects of the Novel* (New York, 1927), p. 240; and E. K. Brown, *Rhythm in the Novel* (Toronto, 1950).

then widely, its effects salutary, then monstrous—Stephen Crane shows what is left at the end of the story: society's "edge," jagged like rocks.

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THOMAS A. GULLASON

Calderón's *El Príncipe Constante*, A Tragedy?

El príncipe constante is the dramatization of the story of a nobleman who became a saint by virtue of his constancy, founded on Christian faith.

In the first Act, Prince Fernando, the protagonist, is established as the epitome of the Christian knight, whose actions are guided by two qualities: on the secular level his nobility, on the spiritual level his constancy. He frees his prisoner Muley because "hombre noble soy y no más" (I, 825). When he himself is captured by the Moorish king he identifies himself simply as a "caballero" (I, 906). His constancy, faith, and Christian optimism, his dominant qualities, are driven home by contrast with his easily despairing brother Enrique on the one hand and on the other, and in a more subtle way, by contrast with the *melancolía* of the beautiful Moorish princess Fénix. When the Portuguese army is surrounded by the enemy, Fernando's courage remains undaunted: "Morir como buenos / con ánimo constante" and "por la fe muramos," is his counsel (I, 862-870). Resisting the victorious king of Fez would be "desesperación" (I, 922). His own conduct is guided by the same principle which he recommends to his royal brother: to act as "príncipe cristiano" (I, 952).

The second Act brings what is from the worldly point of view a rapid deterioration of Fernando's position. At first an honored prisoner on a social level equal to that of the Moorish king, he becomes a *cautivo* like all the others when, with his impassioned speech—occurring properly in the center of the play—he rejects the offer to be exchanged for the Christian city of Ceuta:

¡Quién soy yo? ¡Soy más que un hombre?
..... De nobleza
no es capaz el que es esclavo (II, 391-395).

In battle he had lost his *ser*, that is to say his nobility, and died a

civil death: "perdí el ser, luego morí" (II, 402), but he finds a new mission: to uphold the Catholic faith as "príncipe constante entre desdichas y penas" (II, 441-442). He accepts slavery almost eagerly, not only because he recognizes the secular laws which make the prisoner of war a slave, but even more so because slavery is a shortcut on the way to his "última posada," death (II, 475-478). Now the battle between the king's *rígor* and the prince's *paciencia* begins. While others, Christians and Moors alike, pity him and themselves, Fernando is sustained both by his code as a nobleman who does not complain and by his faith in heaven. Secular and religious values are merged:

... No ha de quejarse desa suerte
un noble. ¿Quién del cielo desconfía?
La prudencia, el valor, la bizarria
se ha de mostrar ahora (II, 605-608).

Fernando resists the temptation to flee at the expense of his Moorish friend's honor: "No acataré / la vida porque tu honor / conmigo seguro esté" (II, 891-893). At the end of Act II, Fernando proclaims: "Seré un príncipe constante / en la esclavitud de Fez" (II, 926-927).

The third Act adds physical death to civil death, but also brings redemption. As the king remarks (III, 98-105), Fernando's pitiful lot is entirely of his own choosing: "Si por ser cruel y fiel / a su fe, sufre castigo . . . , él es cruel consigo, / que yo no lo soy con él." Fernando is reduced to a living corpse, beset by hunger and illness, a horrible sight to all. Even his last wish to die "por la fe . . . dar / la vida en defensa justa / de la fe" (III, 524-530) is denied to him by the *rígor* of the king. Yet, "firme he de estar en mi fe" (III, 562). Finally, Fernando's life is snuffed out by his long suffering (after III, 649).

Yet, in the end, both the Portuguese arms and Christian faith triumph on both levels, the secular and the religious. Fernando's spirit leads the Portuguese army to victory. His dead body is exchanged for the living *hermosura* of captive Fénix, thereby symbolically expressing the superiority of spiritual values over the worldly ones. Fernando receives a Christian burial, Ceuta is kept in Christian hands. The Portuguese national honor, which suffered defeat in Act I, is restored through victory in Act III. Even in the light secondary plot, Muley and Fénix will be happily united in marriage.

The world order, upset and threatened in the course of the dramatic action by frightening *cambios de la fortuna*, both personal and national, has been restored. There are no unanswered questions left at the end of the play.

El principe constante lacks the one essential quality for tragedy, catastrophe at the end. Fernando is a flawless character who lives unflinchingly by a code of hierarchically arranged values, both secular and religious. His death, chosen by himself in the exercise of his *libre albedrío*, is the logical conclusion of his Christian constancy. His re-appearance as a spirit after death brings on the triumph of right. Fernando is a martyr and a saint, but not a tragic hero.

Tragedy must leave us stirred by the awe-inspiring incomprehensibility of the human situation, our emotions uplifted by the dignity by which the tragic hero bears his destiny imposed upon him against his will, coupled with a more or less consciously felt revolt against the blind cruelty of uncontrollable forces. Our emotions are divided: Aristotle's fear and pity. *El principe constante* leaves us at one with ourselves and with the ordained order of the world, both human and divine. *El principe constante* is an exemplary Christian martyr play, the play of the

divino principe constante (III, 854),
principe en la fe constante (III, 888).²

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ARNOLD G. REICHENBERGER

La Mettrie, *L'Homme plus que machine*, and *La Machine terrassée*: a question of authorship¹

For those who have interested themselves in the work of La Mettrie, the question "did he write *L'Homme plus que machine?*" is one of prime importance. Consideration of the style, technique, content

¹ The foregoing interpretation was read at the meeting of the Comediants on December 27, 1958, held in connection with the annual MLA convention, to open the discussion of the question "*El principe constante, a tragedy?*" Professor Ortigoza presented the opposite view, arguing that the play is "a tragedy in the sense in which the Golden Age understood the term." See the "Minutes," by Helen Sears, *Bulletin of the Comediants*, XI (1959), 6-7.

² *L'Homme plus que machine*, anon., npnd (Leyden, Elie Luzac, fils, 1748). It contains a dedication: 'A Mr. xxx,' and a *Préface*, identical with those of the second edition of 1755, where, however, the dedication is addressed: 'A

and motive suggests a negative answer. In contrast to La Mettrie's vivacious presentation of inferences from observation and analogy, the method of argument in *L'Homme plus que machine* is deductive, the style is sober, laborious and grammatically faulty.² The book thoroughly refutes the materialism which, at this time, he was consistently developing in a series of major works,³ and this situation leads us to pose the disturbing questions formulated by Hester Hastings: why should La Mettrie add a serious refutation of his own to the attacks on *L'Homme machine*?⁴ And why did he never publicise his authorship of this self-reputation, either as a jibe at those who had taken it to be a genuine attack, or as a sincere recantation of materialism?

Yet the difficulties of integrating *L'Homme plus que machine* with La Mettrie's work as a whole would have to be overcome if there were evidence that he really did write the book. In 1954, P. Lemée claimed to have found such evidence, using it to oppose Vartanian's view that the title-page and *Avertissement* of the second edition of *L'Homme plus que machine* show that Elie Luzac wrote it as a refutation.⁵

Monsieur Jean Luloofs, Professeur en philosophie dans l'université de Leyde.⁶ The 1748 text appears in *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie*, Amsterdam, of 1764 and 1774. *Epître à Mlle A. C. P., ou la Machine terrassée*, anon., npnd (Frankfurt, 1749).

² See: M. Valkhoff, 'Elie Luzac,' *Neophilologus*, IV (1918), 10-21; Hester Hastings, 'Did La Mettrie write "L'Homme plus que machine"?' *PMLA*, LI (1936), 440-48.

³ *L'Homme plante* (1748), *Les Animaux plus que machines* (1750), *Le Système d'Epicure* (1750), explore and elaborate aspects of the corpuscular vitalism arrived at in *L'Homme machine* (1748). This concept is linked, in the twice re-edited *Anti-Sénèque* (1748, 1750, and 1751), and in the *Discours préliminaire* (1751), with La Mettrie's theory of unpredictable and ungovernable determinism of the individual.

⁴ Two main chains of polemic followed *L'Homme machine*:

(a) Tralles' refutation: *De Machina et anima humana* (1749) provoked La Mettrie's *Les Animaux plus que machines* (1750). Tralles' reply: *Critique d'un médecin du parti des spiritualistes de la pièce intitulée 'Les Animaux plus que machines'*, though bearing the date 1752, is apparently alluded to in La Mettrie's *Le Petit Homme à longue queue* (1751), which it seems to have called forth.

(b) S. C. Hollmann's *Lettre d'un anonyme pour servir de critique ou de réfutation au livre intitulé 'L'Homme Machine'* (1749, translated from the German of 31 March 1748) was answered in La Mettrie's *Epître à mon esprit, ou l'anonyme persiflé* (1749) which was in turn attacked in the anonymous *La Machine Terrassée*, to which La Mettrie wrote the *Réponse à l'auteur de la Machine terrassée* (749).

⁵ *L'Homme plus que machine, Ouvrage qui sert à réfuter les principaux arguments sur lesquels on fonde le matérialisme*: Par Elie Luzac fils. Seconde Edition (Gottingue, Chez l'Auteur), 1755. See: A. Vartanian, 'Elie Luzac's refutation of La Mettrie,' *MLN*, LXIV (1949), 159-61; P. Lemée, *Julien Offray de La Mettrie* (Mortain, 1954), pp. 122-6.

Lemée's opposition arises partly from the ambiguity of the *Avertissement*, partly from the hitherto unchallenged assumption that La Mettrie wrote *La Machine terrassé*, and partly from the fact that several of La Mettrie's own indications that he did not write *L'Homme plus que machine* have not so far been noticed. It is my purpose to examine these aspects of the case, in the hope of resolving this recurring question, at present exemplified in the apparent stalemate between Vartanian and Lemée.

In challenging Vartanian's views, Lemée asserts that the *Préface* and text of the 1748 edition of *L'Homme plus que machine* were by La Mettrie; that in 1755 Luzac published a second edition, dishonestly claiming authorship on the strength of a few insignificant passages inserted in the text, because the book, considered as a refutation, was in demand, and he hoped to reap the profits, as he states in the *Avertissement*: 'J'en donne une nouvelle édition . . . parce que le commerce veut que l'on imprime ce qui se consomme.' To support his view, Lemée contrasts the claim, on Luzac's title-page of 1755, that *L'Homme plus que machine* is a refutation, with the opening of the *Préface*:

La précipitation ne manque presque jamais de porter le jugement à faux. C'est une vérité qui ne demande aucune démonstration. On verra *l'Homme plus que Machine*; on croira que c'est une Réfutation de *l'Homme Machine*: on se trompera, et deux ou trois heures de lecture prouveront l'effet d'un jugement précipité.

To answer Lemée's problem, we should bear in mind that Luzac, publisher, trained lawyer, and a rational sceptic, believed that all opinions were equally valid and capable of logical justification, and that success in argument went to the man who could make the best case from the given facts.⁶ *L'Homme plus que machine* seems to be an attempt to illustrate this point, for it puts forward the view that one may accept La Mettrie's observations as factual (those of *L'Homme machine* are reproduced at great length in *L'Homme plus que machine*), yet place a non-materialistic interpretation upon them. The rest of the *Préface* explains that the author is not refuting the proposition that man is a machine, providing that 'machine' is taken to imply that thought and will are determined by necessary and logically

⁶ See Elie Luzac's *Essai sur la liberté de produire ses sentiments*, np (Leyden 1749), his 'Avertissement de l'Imprimeur' in *L'Homme machine*, and his subsequent controversy in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque germanique*, v, pt. II (1748), 328-56; and vi, pt. II (1750), 429-41.

explicable causation. He merely denies that such causation is material: it is akin to the spiritual determinism of Leibnitz's 'harmonie préétablie,' and he will not allow La Mettrie to reduce this dualism to vitalistic materialism (as in *L'Homme machine*), nor to propagate materialism in the minds of the ignorant by loose use of the term 'machine.'

... je ne conçois pas comment on peut nommer Machine ou Automate, un Etre qui peut se former différentes idées sur différents états et se déterminer en conséquence, tant que le mot Machine désigne un Etre, qui n'agit et n'est déterminé que par des causes brutes. Et voilà si je ne me trompe, l'idée que le vulgaire attache à ce mot. Si l'on entend par Machine ou Automate un Etre dont toutes les actions ont été prévues, préterminées, et produites nécessairement par la liaison des effets à leurs causes, et des causes à leurs effets, j'avoue qu'alors l'Homme étant supposé tel, pourra être nommé Machine.

Finally, Lemée takes as proof of authorship the inclusion of *L'Homme plus que machine* in a list of La Mettrie's works given in *La Machine terrassée*, arguing that La Mettrie would be unlikely to claim a work which he had not written.

La Machine terrassée, however, appears upon examination to be a genuine attack upon La Mettrie. The few writers who have discussed it have had difficulty in explaining it as part of his work. Poritzky supposes that La Mettrie wrote it to mystify opponents, making it deliberately inane, so that he could crush it and its applauders.⁷ Yet in the *Réponse*, La Mettrie neither claims to have written *La Machine terrassée*, nor mentions the praise which it received.

Bergmann forms the more plausible theory that La Mettrie concocted *La Machine terrassée* by incorporating, in a deliberately nonsensical attack upon himself, quotations from criticisms levelled against his works by Haller, the aim being to persuade his readers that all his attackers were fools.⁸ Not appreciating that this theory would explain why La Mettrie might retain his anonymity (since revelation of his authorship would destroy the impression of his opponents' stupidity), Bergmann finds the *Réponse* disappointing because

⁷ See J. Poritzky, *J. O. de La Mettrie, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin: Dümmlers, 1900), pp. 209 ff.: "... scheint La Mettrie mit dem *Machine terrassée* seine Feinde wirklich nur am Narrenseil umherführen zu wollen, oder mit anderen Worten, er verhöhnte sich hier in unglaublich frivoler Weise, um hernach diejenigen, die darauf hereingefallen waren, in der *Réponse à l'auteur de la Machine terrassée* noch giftiger verhöhnen, und seinen lasciven, ätzenden Spott an ihnen auslassen zu können."

⁸ See E. Bergmann, *Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine* (Leipzig: Wiegandt, 1913), pp. 26-36.

La Mettrie writes there as if *La Machine terrassée* really were by someone else.

Lemée accepts in essence Bergmann's view, but, more conscious than were his German predecessors of the grammatical errors which distinguish *La Machine terrassée* from La Mettrie's works, he considers that the version appearing in some editions of La Mettrie's collected works is a French translation from the German, which was in turn translated from a French original by La Mettrie. Such an original version has not yet been found, but he hopes that it may one day come to light.⁹ It is in relation to this last and most elaborate of the three theories that the evidence at our disposal must be considered.

La Machine terrassée as it appears in La Mettrie's works is a close translation of the known German version, and if this was translated from a lost French original, it was very probably a faithful word-for-word rendering, since the German versions of the *Epître à mon esprit* and the *Réponse* with which it was published are translations of this sort.¹⁰ Hence, we could expect that, despite distortion of style due to double translation, the broad outlines and techniques of *La Machine terrassée* would be recognisably comparable with those of other satires by La Mettrie. That this is not so becomes apparent when we follow some of Hollmann's ideas through the subsequent texts listed in my note 4b.

The *Lettre d'un anonyme* contains the following jibe:

Der Verfasser kan sich inzwischen nach seinem System leicht entschuldigen. Was kan er dafür, dass seine Maschine so, und nicht anders, denckt; ja dass es Maschinen seiner Art giebt, die seinen Gedancken Beyfall geben?¹¹

In the *Epître à mon esprit*, La Mettrie ironically taxes himself with Hollmann's criticisms, quoting from the French translation:

⁹ See P. Lemée, *Julien Offray de La Mettrie*, pp. 202, 209-19.

¹⁰ Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine, oder glaubwürdige Nachricht von dem Leben und sonderbaren Ende des berühmten Arztes de la Mettrie. Aus dem Französischen in drei Teilen (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1750). In the Vorwort, the anonymous translator considers *La Machine terrassée* as a genuine satire upon La Mettrie, and alludes admiringly to many of its jibes. Disregarding chronological order, he gives *La Machine terrassée*, then the *Réponse*, and, as "Die letzten Worte des Sterbenden," the *Epître à mon esprit*. Comparison with the French texts shows that his hostility is confined to footnote comments, and does not distort the translation, as Poritzky and Bergmann suggest.

¹¹ I have been unable to find a copy of the translated *Lettre d'un anonyme* (Berlin, 1749), and I quote from p. 411 of the *Göttingische Zeitungen* of May 1748, where Hollmann's original German is given in full on pp. 409-12, and 425-8.

Pourquoi avez-vous fait . . . *l'homme machine*? Dites-le-nous en confidence, serait-ce pour la vanité d'imprimer ce que les gens sensés, ce que tous ceux qui voient le train de ce monde, se disent à l'oreille? Il faut cependant vous pardonner, quels que soient vos motifs vous avez été forcé de les avoir et de les suivre. "Mais quand pouvez-vous? Si votre machine est montée à penser ainsi et non autrement; et la rendra-t-on responsable de ce que d'autres machines lui applaudissent, et trouvent fort spirituelle une hypothèse qui n'a pas le sens commun?"¹²

A distinctive feature of La Mettrie's satire is his habit of half-concealing its ironies, which are fully apparent only to those sufficiently acquainted with his feuds to detect a host of subtleties and allusions. The irony is indicated here by 'ce que les gens sensés se disent à l'oreille,' but anyone not familiar with the *Lettre d'un anonyme* might well be puzzled by the rest of the passage and the unacknowledged quotation, or by the next two pages, where La Mettrie bombs himself with long paragraphs of paraphrase or quotation from Hollmann, relying solely upon one interposed quip to show that his intention is ironic. The writer of *La Machine terrassée* retains the letter form, addressing an ironic defence of La Mettrie to the imaginary Mlle A. C. P.:

Vous blâmerez, je le prévois, la folie de machine; mais je vous en prie, ma chère, ne vous irritez pas contre lui. Rappelez-vous, s'il vous plaît, que c'est *Mr. Machine*. Une machine n'agit pas à ce qu'elle veut, mais plutôt à ce qu'elle doit. Chantant ses louanges, je ne permettrai jamais qu'on le décriât. Je le mets à couvert de toute reproche de sa folie, je lui conserve sa réputation, malgré toutes objections calomnieuses, en disant: il fut machine, et pas plus.¹³

The reiterative play on Hollmann's theme through the jeering appellation 'Mr. Machine,' and the heavy-handed, self-conscious sarcasms contrast noticeably with La Mettrie's bolder reliance upon the reader's ability to perceive his irony.

Had La Mettrie written this passage, he would presumably have exploited it later, yet the *Réponse* ignores this jibe, and several others. But in order to counter Bergmann's hypothesis that he wrote much of *La Machine terrassée* in a manner sufficiently uncouth to need no further comment, it will be well to consider a series of points which runs through all four pieces. In the following series, the writer of *La Machine terrassée* imitates one of La Mettrie's tricks by associating

¹² *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie* (Berlin: Tutot, 1796), III, 4-5.
¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 237.

a new and damaging meaning with a phrase from the *Epître à mon esprit*, and La Mettrie's reaction in the *Réponse* shows that he was nonplussed by this turning of the tables, and could give only a mild and none-too-clear reproof.

Hollmann, in the *Lettre d'un anonyme*, writes:

Ein Spinosist ist in meinen Augen ein elender und verworrner Mensch, mit dem man Mitteleyden haben, und, wenn ihm noch zu helfen, mit einem paar nicht gar zu tiefesinniger Anmerckungen aus der Vernunftlehre, und einer deutlichen Erklärung, was eins, was viel heisse, und was eine Substanz für ein Ding sey, zu Hülfe zu kommen suchen muss.¹⁴

La Mettrie paraphrases this with ironic embroidery:

Vous faites l'esprit fort, et vous n'êtes qu'un esprit faible, facile à terrasser. Savez-vous combien peu de choses il faut pour vous confondre? Une couple des premières et des plus simples règles de logique, et je ne dis pas de l'admirable et séduisante *Logique des vraisemblances*, mais de celle du premier pédant de quelque université: à condition que j'ajouterais pour renfort "une définition claire et distincte de ce que c'est que qualité, et de ce qu'on entend par substance."¹⁵

Evidently, 'premier pédant' means 'any pedant' ('le premier venu') and La Mettrie has in mind his enemies in the Leibnitzian-influenced German universities (eg. Haller and Tralles). In *La Machine terrassée*, however, the phrase receives entirely new connotations:

L'unique faux pas qui me déplaît, c'est qu'il inquiète les cendres de ce premier pédant de quelque université qui lui a donné le titre de docteur; car c'est blesser en même temps la confiance et la réputation de son bienfaiteur.¹⁶

The allusion here is to the *Doyen* of the Faculty of Medicine at Rheims where, in an earlier satire against the medical profession in France, La Mettrie had claimed to have bought a doctorate.¹⁷ It is easy to understand this change of meaning as the device of a genuine satirist, but hard to conceive that La Mettrie should be capable of thus misinterpreting himself, and harder still to imagine why he should want to. We can hardly argue that he took this troublesome and unlikely course merely to publicise the validity of his qualifications later in the *Réponse*, for the wording there is delicately allusive, waggishly

¹⁴ *Göttingische Zeitungen*, May 1748, p. 427.

¹⁵ *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie*, 1796, III, 5-6. (The italics are La Mettrie's.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 242-3.

¹⁷ See La Mettrie, *L'Ouvrage de Pénélope* (Genève: Cramer, 1748), 2 vols., II, 260.

ridiculing the attacker (who had described La Mettrie as dead, and sharing Hell with other charlatans), but not affording the average reader any precise appreciation of the error:

Un Médecin?—*similis similis gardet*—avec les Charlatans. Quelle sagacité! Quel coup de collier! Sans lui vous restiez embourré! Ne perdez pas courage, beau sire, pour une fois que vous aurez pu vous tromper, vous direz vrai et rencontrez juste mille autres! C'est ma faute si vous avez tort.

Ce n'était pas assez d'être plagiaire, il fallait être Banqueroutier. A qui? à Hippocrate. Vous êtes un vieux routier à ce que je vois, . . . vous connaissez les Universités, aussi bien qu'un Portier de Collège.¹⁸

Often, misrepresentations which La Mettrie could not have made unless he intended to repudiate them, pass altogether unheeded in the *Réponse*. For example, La Mettrie, still ironically taxing his *esprit* with Hollmann's rebukes, writes:

Vous seriez même tenté à croire qu'on pourrait faire une machine qui parle; . . . Mon ami, vous êtes dans l'erreur. On peut bien parler sans langue, mais non sans âme. Pour faire une machine capable de parler et de penser, il faudrait donc être à l'affût d'une âme, lorsqu'en je ne sais quel temps, et je ne sais comment, elle vient se nicher incognito dans nos veines.¹⁹

The author of *La Machine terrassée*, ignoring the ironic mockery, writes:

Je dis, sans âme; mais je reprends moi-même. Quelquefois *Mr. Machine* en avait une, ou du moins il crut l'avoir. *L'âme*, dit-il vient en *je ne sais quel temps et je ne sais comment, se nicher incognito dans mes veines*.²⁰

Lemée's supposition of a lost French original of *La Machine terrassée* is rendered unlikely by an indication that it was first written in German, a language said to be unknown to La Mettrie.²¹ In the *Epître à mon esprit*, La Mettrie, suspecting that his anonymous

¹⁸ La Mettrie, *Réponse à l'auteur de la machine terrassée*, Edited with introduction and notes by P. Lemée (Lyon: Dodeman, 1944), pp. 10 and 12.

¹⁹ *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie*, 1790, III, 10-11.

²⁰ Ibid., II, 243. Compare also the following paragraph (p. 240), likewise unexploited in the *Réponse*, with the footnote from *L'Homme plante* quoted below (see my note 24). "Ce sont, diriez-vous, en vérité des idées crues, crasses et matérielles; et c'est ce que je veux. Mon héros s'imagine d'être l'Hercule de la fable. Pour peu, dit-il, qu'on soit versé dans la littérature et dans la seule connaissance des auteurs, on voit que je suis, comme M. de Voltaire le dit de Newton, l'Hercule de la fable, à qui l'on attribue tous les faits des autres héros." *Mr. Machine* est donc l'Hercule de la fable. Vous le savez, ma chère, et voilà, vous êtes versée dans la littérature. Quel avantage pour vous, de savoir que *Machine* est l'Hercule moderne."

²¹ See J. B. Boyer d'Argens, *Ocellus Lucanus* (Berlin, 1762), p. 245: "On verra . . . que La Mettrie affectait de mépriser les allemands. . . . Il

attacker was the Konsistorialrat Sack, calls him ‘un sac d’ignorance et de préjugés.’²² *La Machine terrassée* rehandles the pun, telling how La Mettrie, having upset his companions in the underworld, was finally turned into a bagpipe, which, in German, is *Dudelsack*. But in French, where all the words for ‘bagpipe’ (*cornemuse*, *musette*, *biniou*) lack the syllable *sac*, the punning retort is barely possible, and appears in the following somewhat ineffectual form:

Mais touchons la grosse corde; il faut congédier *Mr. Machine*. Vive la contenance, mon cher! C'est pour vous une nouvelle époque. Vous êtes à présent la cornemuse. Vous faites le sac, mon cher. . . .²³

Finally, we must consider the significance of the attribution of *L'Homme plus que machine* to La Mettrie in *La Machine terrassée*. Lemée's assumption that La Mettrie would not claim a work by someone else seems valid in the light of our knowledge of his habits. If we accept it, we may say that if La Mettrie did not write *L'Homme plus que machine*, we have a further indication that he did not write *La Machine terrassée*.

The first disclaimer of *L'Homme plus que machine* appeared in *L'Homme plante* in a footnote concerning *L'Homme machine*:

... un livre qu'on m'a attribué, comme tant d'autres que je n'ai pas fait. En voici la liste:

L'Homme Machine.
Traité de la Matérialité de l'Ame.
L'Homme plus que Machine.
Essai de M. S. sur le Mérite et la Vertu.
Les Pensées philosophiques.
Histoire de la Cour de Perse.
Relationes ex Belgio in Parnassum.

Pour peu qu'on soit versé dans la littérature et dans la seule connaissance des auteurs, on voit que je suis, comme M. de Voltaire le dit de Newton, . . . l'Hercule de la fable, à qui on attribuait tous les faits des autres héros.²⁴

We know that the last four books were not La Mettrie's; also that he

écrivait en français comme un énergumène, et savait à peine assez de latin pour entendre les livres de médecine; ignorait toutes les autres langues, surtout l'allemand, et jugeait du mérite des auteurs allemands.”

²² *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie*, 1796, III, 13. (The italics are La Mettrie's.)

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 247.

²⁴ La Mettrie, *L'Homme plante*. Edited with introduction and notes by F. Rougier (New York, 1936), p. 125. (Rougier gives the rare 1748 text which alone contains La Mettrie's notes.)

objected to the misnaming of his *Histoire naturelle de l'ame*.²⁵ Thus, of the seven disclaimers, five at least are true. Probably only the denial of *L'Homme machine* (later admitted) is subterfuge, but it means that direct disclaimers by La Mettrie are untrustworthy.

Indirect evidence appears in *Les Animaux plus que machines*, where La Mettrie mocks Tralles for holding up the author of *L'Homme plante* as a model of right thinking whom the writer of *L'Homme machine* would do well to emulate.²⁶ Tralles had also praised *L'Homme plus que machine*, accepting it as a genuine attack upon *L'Homme machine*, and expressing the wish that he had received it before completing his own refutation. Had La Mettrie really written *L'Homme plus que machine*, it seems inconceivable that he would have missed this opportunity of declaring the fact in *Les Animaux plus que machines*, for this would clearly have embarrassed Tralles even more effectively than the admission of *L'Homme plante*.

A later piece of evidence makes the conclusion that La Mettrie did not write *L'Homme plus que machine* irresistible. In *Le Petit Homme à longue queue* (see my note 4a), La Mettrie enjoins his lesser attackers to consider the discussion of Tralles' work as a retort to themselves:

Si j'élève la voix, c'est pour les appeler tous au Tribunal de cet Homme célèbre; c'est là que je cite l'Auteur de la *Lettre sur l'H. M.*—celui des *Pensées Chrétiniennes*; ce déclamateur vraiment comique, qui croit triompher dans la *Bib. Rais.* C'est là que j'appelle Rousset, qui ferait mieux de s'en tenir à sa Politique; Haller, l'ingrat Haller, qui a été encensé comme un Dieu, et qui n'est qu'un vil mortel; *l'Homme plus que Machine*, à qui j'en fais de tout mon cœur mon compliment; et enfin pour ne rien dire de tant d'autres pieux et orthodoxes, soit Traducteurs, soit Ecrivains, si on veut leur passer ce nom, vous seriez cité devant le même excellent juge, grave et bonne figure de Prêtre hibernois, sans l'heureux paix que j'ai bien voulu vous accorder!²⁷

This disavowal of *L'Homme plus que machine* is not stated, but merely implied by the fact that mention of the book occurs in the midst of a series of allusions to other attacks upon La Mettrie which we know he did not write. Such a manner of disclaiming *L'Homme*

²⁵ La Mettrie, *Réponse à un libelle*, published as part of *Supplément à l'ouvrage de Pénélope* (Berlin: Cramer, 1750), p. 303.

²⁶ B. Tralles, *De Machina et anima humana* (Breslau: Hubert, 1749), pp. 243-6; 258. References to *L'Homme plus que machine* appear on sides 9 and 13 of the unpaginated *Praefatio*. Cf. La Mettrie, "Les Animaux plus que Machines," in *Oeuvres philosophiques de La Mettrie* (1796), II, 127.

²⁷ La Mettrie, *Le Petit Homme à longue queue* (1751), Edited with introduction and notes by P. Lemée (Paris: Baillière, 1934), pp. 10-11.

plus que machine is very convincing, because it shows that La Mettrie was indifferent towards the attribution of the book to himself, and that therefore he had no motive for lying or giving a false impression. On the other hand, an emphatic denial, by revealing concern on his part, would entitle us to suspect the truth of the statement. Nor can we argue that La Mettrie might have been a liar of exceptional cunning, who feigned indifference in order to be more convincing, because if he were deliberately lying, he would be unlikely to compromise his implied denial by distinguishing this particular work with a compliment. This passage seems to afford the best form of proof for which we can hope, for not only is it by La Mettrie himself, but the implications of the terms and context in which the disclaimer is uttered make it impossible to consider it as a subterfuge.

The outcome of the discussion of *La Machine terrassée* may now be summarised in four points.

- 1) Despite efforts made in *La Machine terrassée* to parody La Mettrie's more obvious satirical devices, the use of irony there differs noticeably from the ironic techniques of the *Epître à mon esprit*.
- 2) *La Machine terrassée* contains really damaging insults and misrepresentations which are dealt with unsatisfactorily or not at all in the *Réponse*. Hence, the theories that La Mettrie wrote *La Machine terrassée*, using criticisms which he could later crush easily, or in a purposely clumsy style which would discredit attackers, must both seem untenable.
- 3) The pun suggests that the known German version of *La Machine terrassée* must be the original, that there is no French original, only a translation, and that the unilingual La Mettrie could not have been its author.
- 4) The several indications, from his own pen, that he did not write *L'Homme plus que machine*, appear conclusive, and make it almost certain, in view of his known habits, that he did not write *La Machine terrassée*, where *L'Homme plus que machine* is attributed to him.

The conclusion that La Mettrie wrote neither *L'Homme plus que machine* nor *La Machine terrassée* seems inescapable, for these four considerations leave little possibility of arguing in support of any of the three opposing theories. Yet Lemée's ingenious approach has the two merits of stating the case for La Mettrie's authorship in its most convincing form, and of calling in question the amount of reliance

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to be placed on title page claims to authorship, especially when an evident financial motive is present.

The attribution of *L'Homme plus que machine* and *La Machine terrassée* to La Mettrie, originating in the suspicions of German reviewers, was doubtless encouraged by the inclusion of one or other of the works in several of the editions of La Mettrie's *Oeuvres philosophiques* published after his death.²⁸ That Luzac was the sole author of *L'Homme plus que machine* now seems uncontested; the writer of *La Machine terrassée* was probably the anonymous editor of *Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine*. The *Vorwort* of this collection, and the footnote comments to the translations of the *Epître à mon esprit* and the *Réponse* are in a similar style to that of the German work from which the publication takes its title. One may speculate further that the later editors of La Mettrie's *Oeuvres philosophiques* knew that two of the three works in the collection were by La Mettrie, but by some error chose *La Machine terrassée* instead of the *Réponse*.

Be this as it may, the possibility of definitively excluding *L'Homme plus que machine* and *La Machine terrassée* from La Mettrie's work means that a more coherent and intelligible view can now be taken of his work as a whole, and of his polemical techniques in particular.

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A Source of the Title

Les Amours jaunes: La Landelle

In 1873, when Tristan Corbière's only collection of poetry was published, its title, *Les Amours jaunes*, was something of a novelty, for the expression *amour jaune* had not until then been used in French. Critics have subsequently explained that Corbière patterned it after *rire jaune* and *voir jaune*, which suggested by analogy *aimer jaune* and consequently *l'amour jaune*, which was furthermore analogous to *la fièvre jaune*. According to this explanation, which is no doubt correct as far as it goes, Corbière meant to imply that his love was a forced, sickly, morose, and jaundiced one.

²⁸ La Mettrie never claimed to have written them, nor did he include them in the 1751 edition of his *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 'Londres' (Berlin), J. Nourse, which he prepared just before his death.

More can be said, however, about Corbière's title. The first words, *les amours*, recall the titles of countless Renaissance collections of verse. With the adjective *jaune* Corbière possibly meant to refer to the unmistakable yellow tint of his features, which had made an acquaintance remember him as "jaune comme un citron."¹ Corbière's choice of a title may also have been influenced by what he thought would appeal most to the poetry-reading public of Paris in the early 1870's. In his understanding of prevailing taste, traditional poetic values were out of date, having been replaced by an enervating Bohemianism that had become the new subject of art:

C'est la bohème, enfant: Renie
Ta lande et ton clocher à jour,
Les mornes de ta colonie
Et les *bamboulas* au tambour.

Chanson usée et bien finie,
Ta jeunesse... Eh, c'est bon un jour!...
Tiens:—C'est toujours neuf—calomnie
Tes pauvres amours... et l'amour.

Evohé! ta coupe est remplie!
Jette le vin, garde la lie...
Comme ça.—Nul n'a vu le tour.

Et qu'un jour le monsieur candide
De toi dise:—Infect! Ah splendide!—
...Ou ne dise rien.—C'est plus court.
(“Paris”)*

It was not long before writing this sonnet that Corbière had arrived in Paris from Brittany, and it is said that when he first considered printing his verse he thought of a small volume comprising only the sea poems of “Gens de mer.”² It may have been a demand for unconventional attitudes and a “calumny of love” that Corbière was heeding when he published nearly all of his poems and named his collection *Les Amours jaunes*, thereby stressing the poems about his strange love rather than his regional poetry. It should be remembered, too, that his publishers, Gladys frères, were known for their de luxe editions of pornography.

But Corbière's love poems constitute less than half of his collection, and the title, as explained above, makes no reference to the Breton

¹ René Martineau, *Tristan Corbière* (Paris, 1925), p. 78.

² *Les Amours jaunes*, ed. Y.-G. Le Dantec (Paris, 1953), p. 29.

* Martineau, pp. 74-75.

and the sea poems, which were considered for many years the most important part of his production, not to mention the chapters "Racroc" and "Rondels pour après." One would be inclined to conclude, then, that there is no unity of poetic material in *Les Amours jaunes* that a single title could express.

In 1958 there appeared Jean de Trigon's biography of Gabriel de La Landelle, the erudite scientist, linguist, folklorist, novelist, and poet of Morlaix, who was for several years a close friend of the Corbière family. M. de Trigon demonstrated that the chanteys of La Landelle's *Le Gaillard d'avant* (1862) had influenced the themes, style, and even content of some of the Breton and sea poems of *Les Amours jaunes*.⁴ It is possible that Corbière's title, too, was inspired by one of La Landelle's tercets:

—Le beau fichu plaisir! le drôle d'exercice!
Va, pour être amoureux!... Mais le diable râtisse
Ton amour pleurnichard! Ça donne la jaunisse!⁵

In these lines La Landelle made a distinction between two kinds of love, the "drôle d'exercice," which he considered worthy of a sailor, and the "amour pleurnichard," which in his opinion was not. This distinction may underlie the attitude in both the love and the sea poems of *Les Amours jaunes*. In "Gens de mer," it was with admiration that Corbière described the matter-of-fact masculinity of sailors, even Le Bossu Bitor's abject quest for "l'amour à trente sous" and the timid sailor walking with his "donzelle" in "Le Novice en pantance et sentimental." On the other hand, Corbière's love poems show him indulging in the kind of love that gave La Landelle's sailors "la jaunisse." The lover of Corbière's "Sérénade des sérénades" was manifestly frustrated in all his attempts to charm or seduce a "vierge molle," and although the love in the chapter "Les Amours jaunes" was consummated, it was a source of endless self-doubt and suffering. Corbière may have meant his title to be a suggestion to his reader to take a sailor's point of view and to accept the love described in his first two chapters as *l'amour pleurnichard*, which was *l'amour jaune*, for when he described his own love, he dwelt on it, analyzing its progress and contradictions in great detail and on occasion with the kind of sentimentality he detested in other poets.

⁴ Poètes d'océan: *La Landelle, Edouard et Tristan Corbière* (Paris, 1958).

⁵ Gabriel de La Landelle, "Le Retour des marins," *Le Gaillard d'avant: Chansons maritimes*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1865), pp. 51-54.

At one point in his career, Corbière must have realized that he would never be a real sailor, that in his escapades in Roscoff and his diatribes against "terriens parvenus" ("La Fin") it was himself alone that he was deceiving. His poor health had kept him from going to sea as his father had at the age of nine; then, in 1872, his love for an already-kept woman, his "Marcelle," proved that he was morally as well as physically unfit for the sea. It was then that he left the Breton coast and went to Paris to make what he could of his *amour jaune*.⁶

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MARSHALL LINDSAY

Genesis of the Longchamp Scene in Zola's *Nana*

A comparison of the Longchamp racecourse scene in *Nana* with a description of the running for the Grand Prix de Paris, which Zola had recorded for the Russian press in 1875, illustrates with what skill he exploited notes made from personal observation in fitting together his literary construction. In July 1875 Zola published in a literary journal of St. Petersburg, the *Vestnik Evropy*, a miscellany including a report of the 12th annual running for the Grand Prix. He prefaced his account, "Skachki i igra" ("Horseracing and Gambling"),¹ with a panoramic view of the gathering mass of spectators. On all sides the city was emptying. Every vehicle, it seemed, public and private, was being channeled into the avenues leading toward the open expanses surrounding the hippodrome:

"Skachki i igra"

... in the *allées* around the hippodrome one found the most astonishing vehicles: old-fashioned cabriolets, furniture vans crowded with people, even simple farm wagons in which ladies stood. . . . The stream of car-

Nana *

... la pelouse s'emplissait. Des voitures, continuellement, arrivaient par la porte de la Cascade, en une file compacte, interminable. C'étaient de grands omnibus, la Pauline partie du boulevard des Italiens . . . puis, des

* For a different view of the meaning of Corbière's title, see Albert Sonnenfeld, *L'Œuvre poétique de Tristan Corbière* (Paris, 1960), pp. 47-52, which was published after this article was written.

¹ "Shar' de Remiuza. Skachki i igra. Torzhestva v pamiat' Boel'd'ie. Osuzhdenie La-Fontena. Tragicheskii Parizh," *Vestnik Evropy*, IV (1875), 381-408. This article is extant in Russian only.

* All references are to the edition of Maurice Le Blond (Paris, 1929).

"Skachki i igra"

riages continued to swell; calashes, coaches, fiacres, and moving vans all mingled together, rolling along side by side like comrades. For two hours, the continual rumble of wheels was heard (pp. 387-388).

Nana

dog-cart, des victorias, des landaus d'une correction superbe, mêlés à des flâtres lamentables que des rosses se-couaient; et des four-in-hand, poussant leurs quatre chevaux, et des mail-coach, avec les maîtres en l'air, sur les banquettes, laissant à l'intérieur les domestiques garder les paniers de champagne; et encore des araignées dont les roues immenses jetaient un éblouissement d'acier, des tandems légers, fins comme des pièces d'horlogerie, qui filaient au milieu d'un bruit de grelots (p. 320).

Translating fact into fiction, Zola has modified his original observations of the day. In his account for the Russian public, he was content to enumerate, in economical language, the elements of this motley cavalcade. In the novel, his inventory is studded with concrete detail and emanates that impression of reality which he demanded of prose fiction.

There is also in the two selections a different social perspective. Nana's favors command a price that only the socially great of the Second Empire can pay—the nobleman, the financier. As a result, at Longchamp, interest centers about the fashionable carriages of Nana's suite. In the notes which Zola published in the Petersburg journal and which contain the nucleus of the episode in *Nana*, the author devotes relatively greater space to a description of the mores of the bourgeois on a festive outing. Zola was not unaware of the destination of the *Vestnik Evropy*—the salons of a newly-emerging and self-conscious middle class. It is probable that Zola, in some measure, tailored his account to satisfy the narcissism of his Russian middle class readers (he often asked for advice on what would interest the Russian public) and to offer them a portrait of their Parisian counterparts whom they envied and imitated. Thus, as lunchtime approached, Zola turned his attention to the shopkeepers and *rentiers* who were picnicking around the fringes of the lawn surrounding the oval:

About midday, tired from roaming through the woods, they chose a secluded little nook somewhere in the shade near the edge of the oval and began to lunch. The men took off their coats and remained in their vests; the ladies spread out their skirts to cover their legs. Everything was very pleasant.

The grass served as a tablecloth. Wherever one looked, under all the trees, in the soft, cloistered foliage, everywhere, one saw people busily eating. Several thousand middle class families lay scattered about eating dessert, roaring with laughter as corks from tavern bottles popped out with the sound of a pistol shot. And here were young and beautiful women, stretched out on their stomachs in their brightly colored frocks, enjoying the cool breeze brushing their shoulders. Alongside them, young boys, stuffed with sweets, slept under the open sky. Fathers, in anticipation of the first race, played games along the paths. Thus, the public of small shopkeepers and petty *rentiers* amused itself (p. 387).

In the cadre of this volume of the Rougon-Macquart attention shifts to the pleasures of the idle rich:

Des lunchs s'organisaient en plein air, en attendant le Grand Prix. On mangeait, on buvait plus encore, un peu partout, sur l'herbe, sur les banquettes élevées des four-in-hand et des mail-coach, dans les victorias, les coupés, les landaus. C'était un étalage de viandes froides, une débandade de paniers de champagne, qui sortaient des caissons, aux mains des valets de pied. Les bouchons partaient avec de faibles détonations, emportées par le vent . . . (p. 330).

"Skachki i igra" touches, but only briefly, on the gay frivolity about the equipages of the wealthy:

In all the carriages everyone was drinking champagne to temper his impatience. Lackeys emptied baskets, uncorked bottles. Several women, having climbed upon benches, stood with glasses in their hands, laughing and bowing into the distance to others who in turn lifted high their glasses in which the sun struck sparks (pp. 388-389).

Zola transplanted this display to *Nana*, where we find an example of the talent with which he transformed and magnified in his imaginative writing observations made on the scene. The unidentified women toasting each other in a flamboyant gesture reappear in the novel as Nana, elevated above her entourage, accepting the hommage of the moneyed and titled caste of Paris—Venus reigning over male animality:

Les bandes de buveurs se rapprochaient, tout le champagne épars marchait vers elle, il n'y avait bientôt plus qu'une foule, qu'un vacarme, autour de son landau; et elle régnait parmi les verres qui se tendaient, avec les cheveux jaunes envolés, son visage de neige, baigné de soleil. Alors, au sommet, pour faire crever les autres femmes qu'enrageait son triomphe, elle leva son verre plein, dans son ancienne pose de Vénus victorieuse (p. 332).

Zola's design to make *Nana* "non pas seulement une fille, mais la Fille" is evident even in the original outline of the novel, as J. H.

Matthews has pointed out.³ It is in treating the race itself, however, that he introduces most effectively such symbolic overtones.

In the course of "Skachki i igra" Zola reviews the history of the main event of the day. Before 1875 there had been eleven runnings for the Grand Prix de Paris. Horses from both England and France had been entered in each. Intense interest, a chauvinistic interest, had developed in the outcome of these encounters. Although England held a virtual monopoly of the finest racing stock in Europe, French animals had outstripped all competitors on six of the eleven occasions. The national honor was at stake in the public mind. Would England pull up to a tie in victories or would France again carry the day at Longchamp? The race had already a symbolic character for the spectator, then, even before Zola added yet another dimension in fiction by substituting "Nana" for "Salvatore," the name of the actual winner of the Grand Prix of 1875. The victory of the French filly, Nana, in the novel is designed much less to represent a defeat for the Union Jack than it is to represent the apogee of the sensual attraction which the courtisane held for the *beau monde* of the capital—a dominion fully revealed by the attentions paid her in the course of the afternoon. The Longchamp scene in *Nana* is a coup de maître, but, as the following juxtaposition of passages further demonstrates, it is one which Zola owes as much to the record of an event witnessed as to his own inventive genius.

"Skachki i igra"

The crowd, buzzing a moment before, turned deathlike. . . . Then, as the horses neared the finish line and their positions became clearer, the betters snapped out of their torpor and shouted words they had been repressing. Thus it seemed they wanted to spur on the racing beasts, now throwing their hands up in the air, now loudly repeating the name of the horse on which their hopes were riding. Some even flailed the air, bent their legs, swaying slightly as though they themselves were sitting astride a racehorse. For a moment the emotion reached a degree of veri-

Nana

Toute la foule, impétueusement, s'était jetée aux barrières; et, précédant les chevaux, une clamour profonde s'échappait des poitrines, gagnait de proche en proche, avec un bruit de mer qui déferle. . . . On se poussait, on s'écrasait, les poings fermés, la bouche ouverte, chacun pour soi, chacun fouettant son cheval de la voix et du geste. . . . Ce fut comme la clamour montante d'une marée. Nana! Nana! Nana! Le cri roulait, grandissait, avec une violence de tempête, emplissant peu à peu l'horizon, des profondeurs du Bois au mont Valérien. . . . Vive Nana! vive la France!

³ "Note sur la méthode de Zola (Documents inédits)," *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 83, 345.

"Skachki i igra"

table insanity which took possession of these two or three thousand heads simultaneously. Open mouths unconsciously emitted unnoticed sounds. Luffed growling was heard and bursts of nervous laughter like sobbing. Suddenly, at the very climax of this tension, out of all mouths was wrenched a colossal exclamation which ran through the crowd like the rush of a hurricane. Hats flew skyward, hands waved in the air over the whole breadth of the field. Women waved parasols. At first it was impossible to distinguish anything in the reverberating roar of voices. Finally, one word was recognizable above the din—the name of a French horse: Salvatore! Salvatore! Salvatore! A French horse had won the grand prize (pp. 389-390).

Nana

à bas l'Angleterre! Les femmes brandissaient leurs ombrelles; des hommes sautaient, tournaient, en vociférant; d'autres, avec des rires nerveux, lâchaient des chapeaux (p. 346).

Most students of Zola have maintained until now that he made a hurried trip to Longchamp in 1879 to document the racecourse passage. Sherard records the following from a letter to an unidentified correspondent (apparently Céard) dated sometime in June, 1879: "Tomorrow, Sunday, I shall try to go to Flaubert's after the Grand Prix race, which I am forced to visit—a task laid on me for *Nana*."⁴ Auriant reports that Zola excused himself on this occasion, saying that he had research to do. "Le 8 juin 1879," relates Auriant, "il rentrait à Paris [from Médan] et se mettait en route pour Longchamp."⁵ Auriant attributes the local color for the Longchamp scene to this visit to the racecourse. In view of the fact that "Skachki i igra" was published some four years before the composition of *Nana*, there is obvious error in such a declaration as Matthew Josephson's concerning research for the novel: ". . . [Zola] writes Flaubert that he is rushing off to see the races at Maisons-Laffitte, something he has never witnessed before."⁶ A comment from a subsequent letter to the same unidentified correspondent cited by Sherard suggests that

⁴ Robert H. Sherard, *Emile Zola; A Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1893), p. 164.

⁵ *La Véritable Histoire de "Nana"* (Paris, 1942), p. 80.

⁶ *Zola and His Time* (New York, 1928), p. 263.

Zola was obliged, in any event, to commit considerable time to developing this passage: "My life is being worried out of me in studying the rascally races."¹

The implication in all this is that Zola had hit upon the idea of the racecourse scene in his study and gave it substance in the novel by means of observations on the scene in 1879. However, it is evident that while Zola certainly refreshed his memory in matters of detail at that time, much of his raw material was mined from the article for the *Vestnik Evropy*. Indeed, it is even more than probable that the episode in the novel owes its very existence, as well as its basic pattern, to "Skachki i igra."

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On Mallarmé's Newly-found Notebook

In his *Le "Livre" de Mallarmé*,¹ Jacques Scherer did not avail himself of the opportunity offered him by Henri Mondor (who discovered the notebook and gave it into his editorial care) to point up the parallels between these fragmentary jottings and the *Coup de dés*. About the latter, Guy Michaud has written recently: "le *Coup de dés* est . . . bien la première réalisation du grand projet que Mallarmé caressait depuis trente ans, et nous sommes non seulement invités, mais requis d'y chercher 'l'explication orphique de la Terre' dont Mallarmé parlait à Verlaine" (*Mallarmé*, Hatier-Boivin, 1953, p. 171). Since the notes are presented by Scherer as being directly concerned with this selfsame *grand projet* the grounds for the suggested comparison are sufficiently obvious.

In a recent review of the Scherer book,² I mentioned in the very brief space assigned to me a few of the common points. Here I will try to extend the demonstration a bit farther as a foreshampling of what should be done in the major study that the importance of the discovery, and of Mallarmé, clearly calls for.

The fragments of poetry, which make up a portion of the notebook,

¹ Sherard, *Zola*, p. 166.

² *Le "Livre" de Mallarmé: Premières recherches sur des documents inédits*. Préface de Henri Mondor (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), pp. xxiv + 154 + 202.

³ *RR* (October 1958), 228.

are an early sketch, in dramatic form, for the *Coup de dés* (or what this "first realization" was an approximation of). Mallarmé occasionally toyed with the idea of a Theater as the central cult of an advanced civilization, but he eventually gave up the notion as being too loose, too external for the sort of concentrated control he needed to express himself fully: "a book replaces all theaters" (*Solennité*). But if the theatrical form was gradually discarded, the dramatic content was largely preserved in its essential structure, and so the sketch parallels the Poem at almost every turn.

Thus the first image (pp. 12-14 of the reproduced manuscript in Scherer) has an early version of the dice-throw itself: a single word is pronounced, an *ordre* (*appel, invitation*), to which a mysterious protagonist eagerly starts to respond. But the call is to a total response or communion, whether with a *mère* who is directly invoked on page 13, or with an equivalent source, the sort of Magna Mater who is mentioned later. And some inner voice in the listener says *non*, it cannot be. So here, as in the *Coup de Dés*, the rhythm of the suspension—a buffeting between extremes—of all life begins. And just as on Page 2 of the Poem,³ an oblique movement is set up—the indirection of perpetuated existence, the bias or inclination of waves—and is depicted by the type-face, so here the attitude of the half-accepting, half-reluctant listener, *penché en avant, un pied en avant*, is described further by the word *diagonal*. The image breaks off here, incomplete. Next there is the image of the mysterious "mother" (the Earth, or the All) now seen as her later incarnation, the fiancée, and we find a clear indication of the spiral nature of this evolution in the juxtaposition *ma seule fiancée / la terre / ou fiancée / et ce rêve revenu*.

"She" is now seen as a feminine principle of duality, as on Page 2 of the Poem, where we have the splitting of the single line of type into two subordinate lines. And just as on Page 3 of the Poem this principle is further symbolized or incarnated by two waves and a boat which is *penché de l'un ou l'autre bord*, here we have instead the *deux moitiés d'une troupe de femmes / . . . tendant . . . les bras d'une part et d'autre* (p. 17-18) who are also *deux grèves très lointaines* cradling the sea of life. In the Poem the hollow formed by two waves became a boat, a vessel of life, a womb: "Qu'est-ce alors que la nef

³ I use the term "Page" to indicate the double-page (a *verso* and the following *recto* together) which is the unit in the *Coup de dés*.

Argo? Un symbole de la terre, en tant que génératrice: elle contient en soi les germes de toutes choses vivantes" (Mallarmé, *Les Dieux Antiques*). Here too we find the *nef* of the Poem as *quelque nef, ville flottante . . . ville du poète futur* with the word *bercement* nearby.

The connection with this pattern of the *oeuf* and the *église* at the bottom of this manuscript page can be shown as follows: in a late essay, *Catholicisme*, Mallarmé deals with the idea of a new ritual to replace the religious one, which offered an interesting, if outmoded ("Oubliens"), version of the universal drama: "la Mère qui nous pense [the source or *Magna Mater*] . . . veut que l'on commence par les zèles ardu et la sublimité [man's crude early religious impulse, expressed by cathedral steeples] . . . le moyen âge, à jamais, reste l'incubation ainsi que commencement de monde, moderne." In the companion essay, *De même*, he speaks of "la nef avec un peuple." All these indications, the *oeuf-église-nef, ville flottante* of the notebook, the *Mère-incubation-nef-peuple* of the essays, are reflected in the *nef-coque-bâtiment* of Page 2 of the *Coup de Dés*.

There follows a procession of animals, emerging from this life-source according to an obvious evolutionary scheme which is duplicated on the whole (less the rather exotic figures of the animals) in the later Poem. Then comes a *vieillard* who is the exact equivalent of the ancient *Maître* (Man) in the Poem. Like him he is invited to try a total *coup*—a variation on the old *eritis sicut dei*—but he hesitates (the *hésite* of both the fragments and the Poem) and so fails and survives as a mere man. This attempt merges into that flirting with totality which is love, in both versions. But the man fails, once again, to take the woman in an act of thorough possession, a *gloire et crime* (p. 169), a total communion something like the love-death of *Tristan et Iseut* or the late fragment of *Hérodiade* published in the Pléiade edition (p. 1446). The nuptial feast, *faim de la chair, soif de tes yeux* (p. 27), is not truly consummated *car il faut la mort pour savoir le mystère* (p. 32). So the man goes partially hungry (or very hungry: a figure of a celibate, priestly or creative type is evoked as a representative of Man) and this renewed Faustian dissatisfaction is the condition of his perpetuation and creativity. His ambiguous failure, which is described as a personal *naufrage*, in the Poem, from which, however, a child is born (Page 5) is thus the mysterious source of continued life. From the sunken Master's *Fiançailles* (echoed by the *fiancée* of the notebook), his disappointing but fertile flirting with

the All incarnated as the woman-sea, emerges *son ombre puérile*. In the notebook the same phenomenon is described in very similar terms. From the struggle of the father: *source—vieillard / lutte* (p. 30) is born the *enfant qu'il avait en lui* (p. 33).

This sequence of crucial events—birth, growth and striving, marriage, death, survival in progeny or created work—in the one universal drama is the central thread running through all the obscure jottings of the notebook. It is overlaid with various tentative indications usually echoing earlier fragments along the way to the Work, or tangential to it, such as *Igitur*, the dramatic project described by George Moore, notes for a Theater (including the Dance, Music), *Hérodiade*, and so forth. Much of this material was shucked off subsequently, no doubt as being too anecdotal or histrionic, not lending itself to the free and polyvalent play of the Poem. A great deal of it is linked with the Poem in an oblique way which could be established only in a lengthy study, which someone certainly ought to undertake. For, in spite of the current wave of anti-Mallarméism—roughly since the high-point of his favor around World War II—and in spite of the obvious difficulties and the slight reward to be expected from the general public for any honest work on him, he will continue to haunt those few who are unwilling to shrug off the insistent opinion of Valéry that this figure towers above them all, unique.

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The Tall Niggard—Walther 26, 33

The interpretation of this much studied criticism of Otto's niggardliness has baffled scholars. Carl von Kraus was convinced soon after the appearance of his Walther *Untersuchungen* (1935) that his solution was not the proper one. He wrote in a letter to Arno Schirokauer of January 29, 1949: "Däß meine Deutung nicht klappt, hat mir schon Jellinek gleich nach dem Erscheinen meiner Untersuchungen gezeigt. Er kam damals zu dem Ergebnis, daß der Spruch mit keiner Interpretation zu retten sei, er sei gedanklich schwach, das Bild stimme nicht folgerichtig." This recollection¹ of von Kraus

¹ Professor Helen Adolf informs me that Jellinek did indeed express a similar view in his Walther seminar. For this information and for her care-

might apply equally well to the review by Hermann Schneider (*Afda* 55, 125) in which he concludes his remarks on this point: "Aber all diese Einzelerkenntnisse helfen nicht über die Unverständlichkeit und (für uns) Unangeschautheit der Verse 27, 1 und 2 hinaus."

Schneider quite correctly saw that the interpretation of *ére* as 'outward honorable position' led to a non sequitur since Otto's official position as Emperor was great and could hardly when substituted for his body diminish the size of the object undergoing this vicarious measurement. Thus Schneider could see in the word *ére* only the actual high imperial dignity, and Sperber's suggestion² to interpret it as his self-imagined or would-be reputation doesn't help either since it could apply only to Otto and not to Friedrich.

The meaning of *ére* can however also be 'external position,' that is, the reputation of the individual in the eyes of his fellows; and it is gained particularly by generosity.³ That Otto's actual reputation for generosity was small is well supported by Sperber's quotation from Matthäus of Paris: *magnificus promessor et parcissimus exhibitor* (*Corona*, p. 184). I submitted an interpretation of the poem to von Kraus ten years ago based on this meaning of *ére* and shelved it when he doubted its cogency. Having come upon this old correspondence now, I am still convinced that von Kraus missed the point and so reopen the subject.⁴

I argued that all three measurements were vicarious ones, that is, that the person undertaking to find out the size of something assumes that it will be equal in size to something else which he chooses to

ful consideration and detailed discussion of this paper I am much indebted to Professor Adolf. The paper benefitted also from suggestions by Professors W. H. Bennett, Henry W. Nordmeyer and Leroy R. Shaw. The paper was read in German I, MLA Meeting 1959.

² Hans Sperber, "Kaiser Otto's Ehre (Walther 26, 33)," *Corona. Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Samuel Singer* (Durham, 1941), pp. 183-185.

³ Cf. Wilmanns' *Leben und Dichten Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Halle 1916²), p. 48 f.: "Ehre ist gewissermassen die Frucht, oder auch der Inbegriff aller persönlichen Vorzüge (*wirde, werdekeit, wert, tiure*). Sie wird erworben durch gute Sitte (90, 27), feine Zucht (91, 1), edle Kunst (32, 1; 64, 31), reine Minne, insbesondere durch die Freigebigkeit, die sich in einem standesgemäßen Glanze entfaltet (19, 22; 21, 24; 25, 28; 26, 36; 104, 24; 84, 37)." Of these note especially 19, 22: *wie man mit gäbe erwirbet pris and ére and 25, 27: daz er gesache ie groezer gebe, als wir ze Wiene haben dur ére empfangen.*

⁴ Meanwhile, George F. Jones has occupied himself with some of the same points and with similar conclusions, *Monatshefte* XLIX (1957), 31-4: "A solution of Walther von der Vogelweide 26, 33-27, 6." I regret deeply that this article came to my attention when mine was in galley proof.

measure instead. In line 26, 33, the size of Otto's *milte* is assumed to be unknown and a measurement of the body length is undertaken to which it will be assumed to be equal. For some reason (line 26, 34), the attempt at measuring the body is unsuccessful and is abandoned. Thereupon, the measurement of Otto's *ére*, the external representative of his *milte*, is undertaken so that now the body size can be derived from this. His *ére* (= *milte*) is found to be small; and consequently the size of the emperor's body is concluded to be small. Actually as we know Otto was *statura procura*, but, since in Walther's nice fiction our knowledge of his size depends on his *ére*, the body shrinks to nothing. When the same measurement is applied to Friedrich (line 27, 4), that is, the same vicarious deduction of the size of the body from the amount of *ére* (= *milte*), the latter is found to be great. Hence it is concluded that his body size (stature) is large too. Moreover he is still young and will continue to grow in all respects. For the poet Walther, the image of the body size is so real that we see the body lopped off in the poem as a reflection of the loss of stature in reality. Medieval painters used a like technique in representing the important people large and the less important ones small.

With reference to my interpretation, von Kraus wrote to Schirokauer: "Die Deutung Ihres Schülers hat m. E. auch ihren Haken. Gewiß: *ére* ist sicherlich 'ehrenvolle Stellung' oder (s. *quot umb ére nemen*) 'Ruf, äußeres Ansehen.' Aber die crux liegt in *lip* 26, 36: Ihr Schüler schreibt: 'Das heißt nicht an den Körper selbst, sondern an den Ruf legte ich den Maßstab. Aber der *lip* ist nun einmal der *lip* und nicht der Ruf, und bleibt es auch im Verlauf (s. 27, 5 f.)'"

The interpretation of von Kraus in his letter went on as follows:

"Ich meine nun so: die Schwäche des Spruches liegt darin, dass Wort *mezzen* zwei verschiedene Bedeutungen hat: das einmal bedeutet es 'an- oder abmessen, Mass nehmen wie es der Schneider tut.' Setzt man die *milte*-Tuch, Ottos Wuchs = Körperlänge, so passt diese Bedeutung ausgezeichnet für 33-35: das Tuch war zu knapp. Nun nimmt Walther umgekehrt Mass nach dem vorhandenen Tuch (*ére* = Wirkung von Ottos *milte*) an dessen Wuchs. Und hier geht das Bild in die Brüche. Es heißt weiter: da ward der Wuchs viel zu klein und die *ére* viel zu gross, an *milte* (= *ére*) viel winziger als ein Zwerg, und dabei wird er doch nicht mehr wachsen bei seinem Alter. Umgekehrt usw. Jetzt ist nicht mehr die *milte*-Tuch und der *lip* = Körperausmass, sondern umgekehrt. Das passt also nicht zum Schneidervergleich im Eingang (obwohl *verschröten were* es tut); denn wenn das Tuch zu gross ist, kann der Schneider ja soviel wegschneiden als die Körpermasse des Kunden erfordern.—Die Schuld an diesem logischen Fehler liegt aber m. E. nicht an dem Individuum Walther, sondern ist,—mich theo-

logisch auszudrücken—eine ‘gemeine’ Schuld der Sprache seiner Zeit. Wenn ein Wort zwei verschiedene Bedeutungen hat, so kann sie das Wort gleicherweise gebrauchen für die verschiedenen Begriffe, die wir jetzt unterscheiden. Mein Paradebeispiel ist Reimar 165, 28 ff., wo *nam* einmal den ‘Begriff’ bedeutet (erkennen 29) und das andermal den ‘Namen’ (nennen daselbst). Ich verweise *MFU*, S. 355 auf *Beitr.* 56, 74 und *WU*, S. 166 f. Ich vermisse, dass dort darüber gehandelt ist (die Bücher habe ich nicht: das eine steckt in einer Kiste, das andere ist verbrannt). Die Sache verdiente eine besondere Untersuchungen: sie ist häufiger als man glauben sollte. Angewendet auf unsere Stelle: *mezzen* ist im Anfang = Massnehmen wie ein Schneider; ebenso wirkt der Vergleich noch bei *verschröten* nach. Aber im Verlauf schiebt sich die andere Bedeutung von *mezzen* an die Stelle: ‘vergleichend abschätzen, beurteilen,’ messend vergleichen’ 1) Bei dieser Bedeutung lässt man sich auch das plötzliche Kleinwerden Ottos ebenso gefallen wie das *grôz* werden und die Erwartung noch weiteres (SIC) Wachsens. Aber die Worte *und ist doch nicht ewahset mère* spielen etwas hinüber in die Vorstellung *lip sei rein körperlich* (wie beim Schneidervergleich, also bei *mezzen* in der Bedeutung 1) zu nehmen. 1) körperlich 2) bildlich.”

I feel that von Kraus has been too much influenced by the image of the tailoring measurement to which the word *verschröten* impelled him. This word however has far many more attestations in a more general meaning ‘truncated, lopped off,’ as a glance at the lemma in Lexer or Benecke shows. And *werc* is more likely to refer to a work of plastic art than to a piece of cloth to judge from the same sources. Thus I would abandon von Kraus’ involved ambivalence for *mezzen* and cling to his second meaning: to estimate by comparison.

With this meaning for *mezzen* and using *êre* to mean that esteem which one gains from his fellow men by one’s virtues, we arrive at a reading that saves the poem and Walther from the charge of faulty reasoning and incomprehensibility. Wilmanns had already thought of vicarious measurements, that is, judging generosity by height and conversely height by reputation; he wrote: “Walther denkt in dem folgenden Spruch . . . er habe Ottos Freigebigkeit nach seiner Leibeslänge bemessen wollen, da sei das Mass viel zu groß gewesen; er habe dann umgekehrt den Leib nach der Freigebigkeit gemessen, da wäre er gar zu kurz geworden. . . .” Wilmanns, however, misunderstands 26, 34 when he interprets: ‘the measure was far too long.’ The interpretation of the line remains a ticklish one. For my reading of the poem, it is sufficient that the attempted measurement of the body breaks down. The most natural reason for its failing is that Otto’s physical size is too much to measure. Maybe Wilmanns too meant *das Maß* to mean ‘size’: cf. *Ausmaß*. The line could be translated:

'I had forgotten about his size somewhat.' This leaves the sometimes alleged anomaly that the measurer is unable to complete the measurement of the large body size of Otto but is equal to the task of arriving at Friedrich's huge *ére*. But cannot one rise to a second formidable task after having failed at the first?

Hatto⁵ overlooks the whole problem by translating: "I wanted to measure lord Otto's generosity for length." He also disregards the historical fact that Otto was a very tall man in contrast to the rather short Hohenstaufen rulers. The objection of von Kraus (*WU* 83) that *ére* (= *milte*) might turn out to be too great, a patent absurdity, does not really apply here since Walther does not carry out the parallel in 27, 1 nor does he speak of either *milte* or *ére* being 'too' anything. Moreover, the words *gar ze kurz* applied to *lip* in line 27, 1 do not have comparative but only emphatic function (cf. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II, 169, § 512, Anm. 2).⁶

With no attempt at a poetic rendering, I submit that Walther's poem makes perfectly good sense, to wit:

Ich wolt hērn Otten milte nāch der lenge mezzen:
dō hāt ich mich an der māze ein teil vergezzen:
wær er sō milt als lāne, er hete tugende vil besezzen.
vil schiere maz ich abe den lip nāch siner ére:
dō wart er vil gar ze kurz als ein verschrōten were,
miltes muotes minre vil dan ein getwere;
und ist doch von den jāren daz er niht enwahset mēre.
dō ich dem kūnige brāhte dez mez, wie er üf schōz!
sin junger lip wart beide michel unde grōz.
nū seht waz er noch wahse: erst ieze übr in wol risen gnōz.

I tried to arrive at Otto's generosity by measuring his height,
but I had forgotten about his size somewhat;
if he were as generous as he is tall, he'd be virtuous indeed!
Soon thereafter I judged his body size by his honor among men,
why it just shrank to nothing like a truncated thing,
in generous spirit slighter far than a dwarf;
and yet he is past the growing years.
When I applied this measure to the king, how he shot up!
His young body became both large and tall.
Just see how he will yet grow: already he towers over him like a giant.

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⁵ Arthus Hatto, "Walther von der Vogelweide's Ottonian Poems: A new interpretation," *Speculum* 24 (1949), 542-553, esp. 543 bottom.

⁶ Wilmanns wrote *gar kurz* (1882, p. 118) which was changed to *gar zu kurz* in the second edition (1916, p. 484). Böhm also follows von Kraus in reading: "da wurde er viel zu kurz wie ein verschnittener Stoff."

Goethe's Silence Concerning Ronsard

No other foreign literature was as well known to Goethe as that of France. Yet there is no reference to Ronsard in the Weimar edition or the conversations. We know only that his works were borrowed by Goethe from the Weimar Library in 1805.¹

While undoubtedly aware of Ronsard's literary-historical significance, Goethe perhaps felt no subjective interest. Evidently, Ronsard did not participate in what Strich describes as "eine verwandelnde, erziehende, bildende Wirkung."² The young Goethe, whose enthusiasm for the "Deutschheit" of the Reformation era led him to immortalize those rugged figures, Götz von Berlichingen and Faust, was attracted by such writers of Renaissance France as represented for him the counterpart of that "German character." Montaigne, Amyot, Rabelais, and Marot exerted a formative influence which the sexagenarian auto-biographer vividly recalled.³ Goethe was thus renewing association, as often in later life, with cultural experiences of his youth that proved important for his intellectual and poetic development.⁴ Ronsard was plainly not among them.

Of Goethe's predilection for those four "friends," Loiseau writes: "Il les aimait sans doute pour leur langue naïve et savoureuse."⁵ This approbation endured: a year before his death Goethe praised Courier (to Eckermann, March 1, 1831) for his respectfully conservative revision of *Daphnis et Chloé* as translated by Amyot. He had previously remarked to Soret and Cousin that *Faust* ought to be rendered into the French of Marot's time.⁶ Such preference for the language in its Renaissance aspects, before the reform initiated by the *Pléiade*,

¹ Elise von Keudell, *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek* (Weimar, 1931), p. 66 (No. 385—a seven-volume Paris edition of 1678). The books were taken out on March 8 and returned April 25.

² Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern, 1946), p. 145.

³ Goethes Werke, Weimarer Ausgabe (Weimar, 1887-1919), xxviii (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*), 52; hereafter cited as W. A.

⁴ Cf. Harold Jantz, *Goethe's Faust as a Renaissance Man* (Princeton, 1951), p. 125.

⁵ Hippolyte Loiseau, *Goethe et la France: ce qu'il en a connu, pensé et dit* (Paris, 1930), p. 113.

⁶ To Soret, April 13, 1823 (Flodoard Freiherr von Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, 3 Bde. [Leipzig, 1909-11], II, 628); to Cousin, April 28, 1825 (*Goethes Werke*, Gedenkausgabe, xxiii [*Gespräche*], 382). Cousin was of a different opinion and would have liked to answer that he found Courier's archaisms unbearable and preferred "incomparablement la prose simple et mûle du XVII^e siècle à la langue souple et gracieuse . . . , mais déjà maniéree du XVI^e." Not wishing, however, to contradict "l'illustre vieillard," he changed the subject (*ibid.*, p. 383).

suggests a further analogy between French and German literary tendencies as viewed by Goethe—one that may best explain his indifference to Ronsard.

The programmatic endeavors of Opitz, a German follower of Ronsard, to refine and unify poetic style through imitation of the ancients and Romance neoclassicists, are not mentioned by Goethe. He practically ignores Opitz except as the author of three poems in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.⁷ In regard to the Ode, *Überdruss der Gelahrtheit*, beginning: "Ich empfinde fast ein grauen,"⁸ after Ronsard, II, 18 ("J'ay l'esprit tout ennuyé"),⁹ he comments: "Sehr wacker. Aber der Pedant kann die Gelahrtheit nicht los werden."¹⁰ Might not that attribute to the sometime poet laureate of the German Empire be extended to Ronsard by implication?

Goethe admired the robustness and individualism of the French Renaissance, even as he venerated the great classicism of Molière, Racine, and Corneille. These—like Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau in the eighteenth century—became potent forces in Goethe's evolution toward the classic fulfillment which he, with Schiller, achieved in Germany. As in the case of his own country, however, the formalistic phases between unique Renaissance vigor and classical maturity were of less moment. Probably Goethe looked upon Ronsard's objectives as a repudiation of those qualities which had early made the "splendid epoch" preceding the Pléiade a source of delight and inspiration to him.

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⁷ See W. A., XL, 337-359 (Goethe's review of the *Wunderhorn*, upon its appearance in 1806, for the *Jenaische allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung*).

⁸ From the fifth chapter of *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe [1624] . . . unveränderter Abdruck der 4. Aufl. [Halle, 1949]), pp. 22-23.

⁹ *Oeuvres complètes*, Pléiade edition (Paris, 1950), 2 vols., I, 455-456.

¹⁰ W. A., XL, 340.

REVIEWS

Susanne K. Langer, ed., *Reflections on Art. A Source Book of Writings by Artists, Critics, and Philosophers* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. xviii + 364 pp. \$6.50). THIS volume contains twenty-six essays by as many different authors, together with an introduction by the editor, Professor Susanne K. Langer. The dates of first publication of the essays range from 1892 to 1957; and the articles are all reprinted from journals, most of which consider either a particular art or the arts in general. Several of these journals publish in French and German; and while none of the essays was written expressly for Professor Langer's volume, the latter presents a good many of them to the reader of English for the first time. Moreover, most of the source journals are not available to the general public, nor to the users of many libraries; so that even those whose reading is not confined to English publications will discover articles in the collection not readily found elsewhere.

The essays range over a wide area of subjects. Six focus primarily on music, two on poetry, two on drama, and one each on ballet, architecture, sculpture, the film, and song-writing. There is only one (that by Leo Steinberg) which speaks chiefly of painting. Most writers on art find their concrete subject matter and their illustrations in this last area, and Professor Langer's authors cheer the reader by their departure from this more usual procedure.

Not all the essays are devoted primarily to considering particular arts. Several, e. g., those by Aldrich, Baensch, Reid, Garvin, Stern, Mehlis, Müller, and Coomaraswamy, are concerned to analyze ideas employed in aesthetic theory, or to develop, themselves, more or less full-blown theories of that sort.

Despite the variety, there is a single theme throughout the essays. "In general," the editor points out, "these papers deal with the nature of art, and especially the relation of art to actuality . . ." (X). But the second part of this single theme is elaborated in different ways. Some of the authors, e. g., Reinold and Malraux, treat the actuality concerned as made up of the conditions, neurological, psychological, or cultural, which enable art to occur; they present a causal explanation of art. For others (and for the same authors in different

places, perhaps), the actuality concerned is whatever it may be that works of art represent; thus, Stern and Müller endeavor to understand works of art as representative of forms of certain kinds. Still others treat of the relation between actual space and time, and the space and time of works of art—a topic which, in one way or other, and especially so far as time is concerned, absorbs at least five of the essayists. The second part of the single theme, the relation between art and actuality, appears on some occasions as a causal explanation of artistry and its products; on others, as the representation of something by those products; and on others, still, as some relation between actual space and time, and the spatial and temporal traits of works of art.

Many of the authors seem to agree upon the first part of the single theme, the nature of art. Baensch, in his essay "Art and Feeling," typifies their view: ". . . art, like science, is a mental activity whereby we bring certain contents of the world into the realm of objectively valid cognition; and . . . furthermore, it is the particular office of art to do this with the world's emotional content" (p. 10). Artists show us what feelings or emotions are like by embodying them in their works. This embodiment consists in the possession by a work of art of the form of a feeling or emotion—of what Baensch calls its "rhythm" (p. 25). The artist imposes such forms on the materials of his art, and his success lies in giving to his work a quality which, in his mind or elsewhere, is a feeling or an emotion. Something similar may be said for the experience, as opposed to the creation, of a work of art. Art is the activity of embodying feelings or emotions, and embodying them consists in transforming them into qualities of those things, works of art, upon which their forms or rhythms are imposed. Similar views concerning art are expressed or suggested in other essays, e. g., in those of Stern and Müller.

There are two important difficulties with this view of the nature of art. The first is that it makes no usual sense to speak of "transforming a feeling or an emotion into the quality of a thing." We understand phrases like "transforming water into steam," "transforming lead into gold," and "transforming a villain into a saint." One of the conditions for this familiar way of speaking is that there exists a thing which can undergo the transformation. A transformation requires that at least one quality take the place of another; but a quality can "have a place" only as a factor in some greater complex of qualities, i. e., only as a quality of a thing. A bit of water

may be transformed into steam because its liquidity can be replaced by gaseousness; a piece of lead into gold because its atomic structure can be replaced by another; and a villain into a saint because villainy can be replaced by saintliness. To speak of a "transformation" requires that there be a thing, at least one of whose qualities can be replaced by some other; and where this condition does not hold true, this familiar use of the verb "to transform" cannot occur. It makes no usual sense to speak of "transforming a bit of water into triangularity, a piece of lead into saltiness, a villain into blueness." It makes none because there is no thing, the replacement of whose qualities could constitute either of those transformations. Triangularity, saltiness, and blueness are not things at all.

This condition for the use of phrases like "transforming a so-and-so into a such-and-such" does not hold true in the case we are considering. Perhaps one could show that a feeling or an emotion is a thing, although this seems very doubtful; but it is certainly true that a quality of a thing is not, itself, a thing. Perhaps the feelings or emotions of piety, of melancholy, of gaiety may be regarded as things; but the piety of a painted saint, the melancholy of a poem, and the gaiety of a piece of music are certainly not things, but qualities of those things, those works of art, which they qualify. To speak of "transforming a feeling or an emotion into the quality of a work of art" is to speak idly; it is like speaking of "transforming a motor car into a fragrance."

Although phrases like "transforming a feeling or an emotion into a quality" carry no usual sense, they may, none the less, acquire an unusual one. For the purposes of reflection on art, a writer may give to such phrases any sense he chooses. In order to make this stipulation, however, one must be aware that usually, i. e., independently of such reflection, such phrases carry no sense at all. The awareness of this fact seems altogether absent from the essay of Baensch as well as from the other essays in Professor Langer's volume. As a consequence, the usual senselessness of their key phrase in expressing the nature of art goes unnoticed by Baensch and his fellows; and an unusual sense for the phrase is not brought forward.

The second difficulty resembles the first. Phrases like "the form of a feeling or of an emotion" bear no usual sense. We understand others which seem similar. "The form of a sound wave," "the form of a triangle," "the form of a sonata"—these phrases and their kindred we know how to employ in the contexts of physics, of geometry,

and of music criticism respectively. In a familiar way, in these contexts, they refer to certain properties. But "the form of a feeling or of an emotion" occurs in a different context. It occurs in discussions of art; and here, one does not see how it can borrow a sense from the use of its apparent similars in those other contexts. Moreover, in the nonreflective context of daily conversation, phrases like "the form of a feeling or of an emotion" do not occur at all. Such phrases simply have no usual sense. As a consequence, without some special tutoring, we do not know how to distinguish the form of melancholy from melancholy, or the formal properties of a feeling of melancholy from, say, its material properties. Unfortunately, neither Baensch nor any other author in Professor Langer's collection who shares his view provides this instruction although "the form of a feeling or of an emotion" and phrases like it make an important part of their chief contention.

Phrases like "transforming a feeling or an emotion into a quality" and "the form of a feeling or of an emotion" possess no usual sense; and Professor Langer's authors provide them with none which is unusual. This failure leaves their thesis, that art is the activity of showing us what feelings or emotions are like by transforming them into qualities, not so much in error as in the dark.

One may imagine that it was a part of Professor Langer's intent, in working out her own well-known aesthetic theory, to dissipate the darkness which these difficulties generate by providing an unusual sense for phrases like those mentioned. In any case, she does tell us (XI) that all the people represented in her volume have played a part in the development of her own philosophical ideas; and at least part of the interest in *Reflections on Art* lies in its containing what may be forerunners or analogues of passages in *Philosophy in a New Key* and *Feeling and Form*.

Its relation to Professor Langer's own distinguished work is not the only trait which lends interest to *Reflections on Art*. It gives to the reader in a single volume many important contributions to a kind of aesthetic theory which is now widespread among those who practice in, or think about the arts. The style of many of its essays makes it probably too difficult to be used as a text in elementary courses; but it would be an excellent auxiliary or reference book for them, and could be used extensively with great effect on a more advanced level. Those who present courses in aesthetics or in other fields concerned with the arts will find Professor Langer's collection a very useful

addition to the books available for teaching purposes. The non-academic reader who is a little advanced in his consideration of the arts will also find it well worth careful study. Teachers and students of theory concerning the arts as well as advanced laymen will be very glad that Professor Langer has made *Reflections on Art* available to them.

The Johns Hopkins University

KINGSLEY PRICE

Ralph W. V. Elliott, *Runes. An Introduction* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. xvi + 124 pp. 24 plates. \$10.00). THE present book, as the title says, is intended to be nothing more than an introduction to the study of runes in general and of English runic inscriptions in particular. These modest claims are more than amply fulfilled by the book which does not limit itself to the strictly linguistic and philological aspects of the runes, but discusses also and even more their cultural aspects in the widest sense whereby you are inevitably thrown into the spheres of magic and secrete lore.

Like Marstrander and Hammerström, the author believes that the runes originated in the Alp regions, perhaps as early as the fourth century B. C. among Germanic tribes who were familiar with the archaic (*boustrophedon*) alphabets current in those regions before the Roman influence set in. The author knows and quotes the different theorie of the Swede F. Askeberg, but not that of the Dane E. Moltke, who thinks the runes might have originated in Denmark, perhaps in the first or second century B. C. Obviously the question of origin is still in flux.

It is interesting to see that this author, as well as Arntz and Schneider, does not rule out influence from the ideological signs used by the Bronze Age rock carvers in Sweden; these signs are collected and depicted on p. 64. Most common among these signs is a sun motif in many variations but there are many more some of them not unlike runic signs. In interpreting the names of the runes, the author, like Schneider thinks that the names represent the Germanic world of gods and giants, of men and of natural forces and some of man's most treasured possessions. In general this is a plausible theory, but may be hard to demonstrate in detail.

Americans may be intrigued in finding their spurious *Kensington Stone* listed under Scandinavian runes, as well as the runic monu-

ments in Greenland, where there have been new genuine finds during and after World War II. The arrangement indicates the spread from Scandinavia.

On p. 75 the author mentions primstaves or perpetual runic calendars of northern districts, quoting an article by J. B. Davis in *Archaeologia* 1867. It is curious, since his book was printed by the Cambridge University Press, that he should not have notices on Runic Calendars by Eiríkr Magnússon in the Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1877 and 1878. Still more that he should have no idea of the great collection of Runic Calendars in the Cambridge University Library: Runic Calendars: Photographs taken 1878 (by Eiríkr Magnússon) of the Collections preserved at Stockholm and Upsala, 5 vols. (3 in 4to, the 4th in 12mo, the 5th an index volume). Cambridge University Library. Syn 4, 87, 3-7.

The Johns Hopkins University

STEFAN EINARSSON

Wilfred Bonser, *An Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography (450-1087)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1957. Vol. I: xl + 574 pp.; Vol. II: vi + 123 pp. \$18.50). MR. Bonser's bibliography is a major contribution to medieval scholarship. It is authoritative, instructive, and indispensable, and, within its defined limits, exhaustive.

The work is a "bibliography of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic history in the widest sense of the term." It embraces the history of the entire British Isles and Ireland from 450 to 1087. The entries are derived from a systematic survey of periodicals and collective works, totaling in all more than four hundred titles. Many of these are important sources not widely accessible, such as the county journal *Ceredigion*, for instance, or the miscellany, *Essays and Studies Presented to Eóin MacNeill*. The survey covers the complete run of the journals examined up to the end of 1953.

Mr. Bonser excludes "material dealing with literature and linguistics as such." But readers of this journal will be pleased to notice that the bibliography provides much useful guidance to linguists and to literary historians. The 12,000 entries are arranged under the headings: General, Political, Local, Constitutional, Social, Ecclesiastical, Geographical, Cultural, Archaeological, Numismatic, Epigraphic,

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and Art History. Hence the scholar may find information on most diverse matters, from ogams and runes to the Bayeux Tapestry, from St. David to Geoffrey of Monmouth, or from place names to folklore.

The compiler modestly suggests that his work may be thought of as a companion to Sir Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*, but it is more constructive than that. It breaks beyond the limits inevitably imposed upon any volume in the Oxford History of England and juxtaposes materials for the study of the two cultures—Germanic and Celtic—which influenced one another so strongly during a critical period in medieval culture. The revelation of "bare patches" in scholarship to which Mr. Bonser draws attention should entice both questing squires and seasoned knights towards new realms of conquest.

Those who use this work must notice that Mr. Bonser added references to text-books and monographs only as an afterthought, and that he does not guarantee that he has found all the relevant material. Novices, in particular, will therefore have to be on guard that they have not overlooked the obvious. Thus, under Irish historical sources, for instance, only a few annals are listed. For the sake of consistency, all of the following should be added:

- 178a. *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. Ed., trans., John O'Donovan. 2nd ed. 7 vols. Dublin, 1856.
- 178b. *Annala Uladh*: Annals of Ulster. Ed., trans., W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy. 4 vols. Dublin, 1887-1901.
- 178c. Annals from the Book of Leinster. Ed., trans., W. Stokes. *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, vol. II, pp. 512-529. Rolls Series, 89. London, 1887.
- 178d. *Annals of Clonmacnois*. Ed., D. Murphy. Dublin, 1896.
- 178e. *Annals of Loch Cé*. Ed., trans., W. M. Hennessy. 2 vols. London, 1871; Dublin, 1939.
- 179a. *Chronicum Scotorum*. Ed., trans., W. M. Hennessy. London, 1866.
- 190a. *Innisfallen, Annals of*. Ed., trans., Sean MacAirt. Dublin, 1951.
- 202a. *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*. Ed., trans., S. Ó. hInnse. Dublin, 1947.

The extent and nature of the omissions may be further illustrated by the following random list of items which might reasonably be expected to appear. Items primarily of literary or linguistic significance are only mentioned if they are also valuable for historical purposes.

- 1a. Bateson (F. W.). *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1941.

lb. Best (R. I.). *Bibliography of Irish Philology*. 2 vols. Dublin, 1913, 1942.

8a. Pokorny (J.). *Keltologie*. Bern, 1953.

127a. Faral (E.). *La légende arthurienne. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, 255-257. Paris, 1911-1929.

153a. Williams (H.). *Gildae de excidio Britanniae. Cymrodon Record Series*, III, pts. 1-2. London, 1899-1901.

252a. Williams (Ifor). *Canu Aneurin*. Cardiff, 1938.

621a. Black (G. F.). *The Surnames of Scotland*. New York, 1946.

621b. Calder (J.). *Gaelic Grammar*, pp. 138-163. Glasgow, n. d. [Gaelic names.]

2523a. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Ed., W. N. Haneock et al. 6 vols. Dublin, 1865-1901.

2594a. Evans (J. Gwenogvryn). *Y Llyvyr Du or Weun: Facsimile of the Chirk Codex or the Welsh Laws*. Llanbedrog, 1909.

3481a. Chadwick (N. S.). *Imbas forosnai*. *Scottish Gaelic Stud.*, IV (1935), 97-135.

4884a. Adamnan. *Life of St. Columba*. Ed., W. Reeves. Dublin: Irish Arch. and Celt. Soc., 1857. [Later editions incomplete.]

4973a. Turgot. *Vita S. Margaretae*. Ed., H. Hinde. *Surtees Soc.*, II (1867), 234-254.

5909a. Mitchell (Sir A.) and Cash (C. G.). *A Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography*. Scott. Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., XIV (1917). 2 vols.

9906a. Nash-Williams (V. E.). *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*. Cardiff, 1950.

Mr. Bonser does not attempt to include reviews. Since most areas of medieval studies lack guides to scholarly reviews, it would be unreasonable to demand the preparation of such for this large topic from any bibliographer working single-handed. But the present bibliography points up the general need for concerted efforts to meet a crucial inadequacy. Thus, anyone consulting Macalister's *Corpus Inscriptionum* (Bonser 9547) should certainly read K. Jackson in *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 521-523; XXIV (1949), 598-601. Anyone directed to Porter's *Crosses of Ireland* (Bonser 11072) should also be directed to J. F. Kenney in *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 104-109.

These remarks are in no way intended to detract from the immense value of this work. As every researcher knows, it is easy to find the obvious basic studies, and it is possible to track down reviews when one suspects that they may be needed. It is in the gathering of the masses of elusive and fugitive secondary materials that help is most needed and welcome, and here Mr. Bonser provides magnificent assis-

tance. His skill, knowledge, and patience have accomplished a monumental labor of love.

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CHARLES W. DUNN

Pearl Hogrefe, *The Sir Thomas More Circle. A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama* (Urbana: The Univ. of Illinois Press, 1959. vi + 360 pp. \$5.75). IN 1926 the late A. W. Reed brought out an interesting and informative book called *Early Tudor Drama*, which was mainly concerned with Thomas More's circle. The complete text of Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres* had just been discovered, and students of this period hopefully awaited a great expansion of our knowledge and understanding of the development of the drama in the age of the great English humanists. With the exception of a few studies of John Heywood this hope has not been realized. It is, therefore, with a sense of great disappointment that I am obliged to report that Miss Hogrefe's book does very little to improve the situation. A pleasantly biographical treatment of her subject might have reached a wide audience at this time if it had used the charming picture of More's family and friends to help carry the weight of serious ideas about natural law, government, and education. On the other hand, a book which presented new material or, gave new interpretations of old material on these topics would have interested scholars without the sugar coating on the pill. Unfortunately, in this book we find neither the one nor the other. With no biographical setting we are introduced immediately to a discussion of the ideas of More and his friends which rarely tells us anything we did not know before. The principal writers considered, besides More himself, are Erasmus, Vives, Elyot, and Colet; the main concepts which emerge are those of nature, reason, and love. But the ideas of these men have been gone over so many times in so many books already that there is little point in going over them again unless some new and original contribution is made by the author.

The discussion of ideas in the drama, which forms the second part of the book, is even more routine. Miss Hogrefe does not evince much interest in the drama as a form of literary art, and is not always adequate in her factual knowledge of it. She passes over with a comment of only one sentence the long passage on the problem of relics and pilgrimages, so central to the thinking of More's group,

at the end of *The Four PP* and has little that is at all enlightening to say about the relation of his religious views as a whole to those of John Rastell (his father-in-law) who became a Protestant and to those of Thomas More (Rastell's brother-in-law) who remained a Catholic. It is worth noting, however, that Miss Hogrefe does not accept A. W. Reed's attribution of two of the plays in the traditional Heywood canon to Thomas More. Her method of organization, which is to run through all the plays again for each of the ideas discussed, seems to me less interesting and fruitful than Reed's method of treating all the ideas of each writer in one place.

The most interesting part of this generally unrewarding book is that devoted to ideas relating to women, especially in regard to education, love, and marriage. The English humanists, interested mainly in morals and conduct, could not tolerate as a subject for literature the medieval courtly love situation, which was usually frankly adulterous and excluded marriage between the lovers. The anonymous adapter of the Spanish *Celestina* was obliged to change entirely the latter part of the story for this reason. It was a long time before the romantic conception of young people seeking their own mates against parental opposition, as seen in *Romeo and Juliet* or *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, arose to take the place of the clandestine affairs of Troilus and Criseide or Launcelot and Guinivere. Love as dramatic plot material remained a problem for writers for several generations, and in general they solved the problem by avoiding love plots. Miss Hogrefe's long treatment of this subject throws some light on what was going on in the first half of the century and is worth careful consideration.

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LEICESTER BRADNER

Norman N. Holland, *The First Modern Comedies. The Significance of Etherege, Wycherley and Congreve* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959. 274 pp. \$5.50). A NEW book on an old subject, unless it introduces fresh primary evidence which makes a revaluation obligatory, tends to be polemical; at least it tries to justify itself. Mr. Holland's fine, detailed study of eleven Restoration comedies, from *The Comical Revenge* to *The Way of the World*, produces the same effect, overtly in a chapter devoted to "the critical failure" from Jeremy Collier to L. C. Knights and implicitly in the course of

his own argument. To be sure, there have been exceptions to the long line of "morals" and "manners" critics, notably Miss Kathleen M. Lynch and more recently Thomas Fujimura (*The Restoration Comedy of Wit*, 1952) and Dale Underwood (*Etherege and the Seventeenth-Century Comedy of Manners*, 1957); but most of them have concentrated on the social background or on the language of wit. Mr. Holland proposes instead to disprove the charge that Restoration comedy is merely frivolous, without moral and intellectual substance compared with Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, an "attenuation and enfeeblement," as Mr. Knights puts it, even of what the age taken as a whole had to offer.

His refutation of the charge is based on the notion that the problem of perception is the characteristic problem of these comedies which is caused by the sense of a deep division between social and "natural" man and correspondingly between (ascertainable) fact and (elusive) value. It is therefore the principle of the separation between appearance and nature, that is, between social requirement or the outward self and natural desires or the personal inward self, which guides Mr. Holland's elaborate analyses of action and language. In short, he shows in terms of each play that the "exploration of divided man" (37) is at the basis of the Restoration comic mode; hence the importance of disguise, dissimulation, and affectation in a society which sometimes grossly and sometimes subtly utilized the difference between what is and what shows (50). And in support of his contention that the playwrights reflected analogous attitudes not only in real social conduct, but also in science, politics, and philosophy, he inserts two chapters dealing with the general intellectual background of the age; they are placed strategically to reinforce the strictly literary analysis of the plays.

The comedies are modern, according to Mr. Holland, mainly because they take for granted the separation of appearance from nature and fact from value, that is to say, the corruption of society; and their structure and language mirror the changed frame of reference. In other words, they do not treat this separation as a mark of disorder which must be corrected before the end of the play as in the earlier drama. One of the most useful features of the book is that it shows the distinct ways in which the three dramatists proceed from this underlying assumption. In Congreve, for example, both the fools and the clever rake-heroes begin to be overshadowed by the lover-hero who aspires to a larger freedom than playing the social game with absolute

competence. Now the problem is how to embody the "natural" private life in viable social forms; the comic agon, in Mr. Holland's view, has finally become moral, if not sentimental, to achieve "an ideal in a realistic context."

But the categorical-analytical method of criticism has also a severe, and probably unavoidable, limitation. Although it can prove the intellectual significance of Restoration comedy and rescue the minor plays from neglect by demonstrating their close relation to current modes of perception, it impairs the life of the best plays. Mr. Holland proves his thesis so thoroughly that his discussion begins to resemble a vector analysis, replete with diagrams. This illuminates his argument admirably, but on the other hand it is itself a kind of critical failure, as any criticism must be which becomes fascinated with its own tools and premises.

The discussion of *Love for Love* is perhaps the best instance of the virtue as well as the limitation of Mr. Holland's approach. The use of his categories clarifies the motion of the plot, the position of the characters ("presocial, social, and suprasocial"), the tropes and images, and in terms of these the dialectic of ideas. "I know no effectual Difference between continued Affectation and Reality" in a sense describes the problem of all Restoration comedies. Unfortunately Mr. Holland ascribes the remark to Valentine instead of Scandal; and supposedly Valentine speaks the line "ruefully" (162). This is, then, "the point at which Valentine needs education: that there is a reality which is higher and larger than 'continued Affectation'." The inference itself is correct, but Mr. Holland explores it too rigidly or rather categorically. The remark could not have been made by Valentine, even ruefully; that is the difference between him and Scandal. And coming from Scandal, it ought to be construed as a telling blow at Angelica in this word-duel near the beginning of Act III. But Angelica, in Mr. Holland's scheme, is "free of the pretenses of society" throughout the play (166), although at the end of Act IV she still speaks of uncertainty and expectation as the joys of life: "Never let us know one another better; for the Pleasure of a Masquerade is done, when we come to shew our Faces." Granted, this is said with a deliberate purpose, yet Mr. Holland concedes that even Angelica must be proven wrong (163). How then can we be seriously persuaded to infer from the "religious or neoplatonic imagery" at the end of the play that Valentine "sees her as a kind of religious fulfillment," or that the end of his education is "to bring

him to a higher kind of reality, a Providence or God's justice, that transcends the chance and show of ordinary social reality" (164)? The interpretation has merit, but it is clearly overstated. Except for the fools like Foresight or Tattle, the other characters, rakes as well as lovers, play their roles with greater ironical awareness than our categories can account for. In short, Mr. Holland's approach towards the more complex comedies is sometimes reductive.

But apart from such occasional rigidities, this is unquestionably an informative and stimulating book. It furnishes the proper historical frame of reference for the enjoyment and evaluation of these plays and proves the fallacy of judging them by impertinent standards. After all, it is meant to be polemical, to rout the condescending and the uninformed critic from the field.

Princeton University

ALFRED SCHWARZ

Walter Harding, *A Thoreau Handbook* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1959. xviii + 229 pp. \$4.50). Walter Harding and Carl Bode, *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1959. xxi + 665 pp. \$12.50). A NUMBER of valuable studies of Thoreau have been published in the last three years in addition to the two under review, notably the first significant study of the development of his mind (by Sherman Paul in 1958) and an account of seven stages in the evolution of *Walden* including the text of the first draft (by James L. Shannon in 1957). Prior to these, beginning with the *Walden* centenary in 1954, Walter Harding began to issue a series of small volumes: a catalogue of Thoreau's library, a checklist of the editions of his masterpiece, and a selection from the criticism of the past hundred years. Now this indefatigable Thoreau scholar has published two more substantial volumes, the Handbook and the Correspondence listed above, so that the serious student is at last provided with most of the tools needed for a revaluation of Thoreau. (A scholarly edition of his writings, an up-to-date bibliography, and a definitive factual biography would complete the list of such aids.)

A Thoreau Handbook fulfills a large number of these needs by its thorough survey of what has been done and its indication of the gaps that need to be filled in. This is particularly valuable in the case of Thoreau, because his reputation in the last few decades has shot up

from the status of a minor to that of a major American author. And though much has been written on him, it has been miscellaneous in character and lopsided in emphasis. High claims have been made for him, but it is time to take stock and see how well they can be substantiated. If he is really a great literary figure—rather than a naturalist, a social critic, an eccentric hermit—then this should be spelled out as convincingly as has been done for Melville, James, and others in recent years.

Following the pattern of the standard handbook, Professor Harding divides his study into several subject headings: Life, Works, Sources, Ideas, Fame. In each chapter he summarizes all the important facts, raises most of the pertinent issues, and indicates the extent to which they have been met by previous writers on Thoreau. Each is followed by a bibliography of books and articles on this particular phase of his subject, with brief descriptive commentary. Though Harding carefully avoids the role of critic—both of Thoreau's writings and the writings about him—he does evaluate the material under discussion in an attempt to help the specialist find his way through this maze to what is most significant or relevant. For the purpose of ready reference such an arrangement has inevitable limitations. For example, there is no single bibliographical listing of all books and articles on Thoreau, either alphabetical or chronological. They are grouped instead under his five main headings, with subdivisions, though within these he follows a chronological order when feasible. But with the aid of an adequate Index of proper names, the reader can put his finger quickly on all the items by a given scholar or critic.

The state of Thoreau scholarship that emerges from this survey can be summed up as follows. All of the main facts in his life have now been established, though they have not been recorded in any single biography that is both up-to-date and authoritative; the chief points that remain moot or obscure are largely matters of his "inner" life. Secondly, Harding's compact account of Thoreau's writings, in the order of composition, points up vividly the unusualness of his career as a publishing author and the difficulty in classifying him as a literary figure. Although his works fill twenty volumes, only two of them were published in his lifetime, plus enough miscellaneous essays to fill a third. Furthermore, fourteen of them are occupied by his journal, first issued nearly half a century after his death; and only very recently has there been any real effort to treat these as a work of the creative imagination, in Perry Miller's provocative introduction

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to the "lost" journal of 1840-41. Yet they must be so evaluated if Thoreau's reputation is to be sustained as a major author of literature. It must rest largely on *Walden*, *A Week*, and the journals, for there is little of first-rate caliber among the other four volumes of prose and poetry. (These issues, however, are not raised in the *Handbook*.) The third section, on Thoreau's sources, confirms what has been generally known: that he was a wide reader but too original to be derivative; but the spade work that has been done in this area is valuable for the specialist, and it has never been summarized before. The fourth section, on his ideas, is largely superseded by Professor Paul's recent study, which appeared while the *Handbook* was in press. Both accounts reflect the emphasis on Thoreau as a thinker that, since 1930, has replaced the older interest in him as a nature writer (and before that his dismissal as an eccentric and minor disciple of Emerson). This growth of his reputation is the subject of the final chapter, a matter chiefly of interest to the literary historian.

What is striking by its absence from the *Handbook* is any serious effort to evaluate Thoreau as an imaginative writer, a poet in the broad sense of that term, and this is what chiefly remains to be done if he is to be ranked as one of the greats in American literature. This lack is not the fault of the compiler, for the most part, because his primary task was to describe what has already been done on Thoreau and precious little of that, to be sure, has been concerned with his writings as art. But from several of Professor Harding's descriptive evaluations of books and articles, one suspects that he shares this lack of interest. For example, his rather full analysis of Seybold's admirable monograph on *The Quest and the Classics* (pp. 100-102) is devoted exclusively to her thesis on the influence of the classics, which he feels is too strong, and thus overlooks half of her title and three-fourths of her concern—Thoreau's quest for Transcendental reality and the poetic techniques by which he tried to snare it. Again, Stanley Hyman's provocative article on Thoreau's use of wit and metaphor, the pioneer study in this area, is tagged as "Freudian" (p. 185), which is misleading to say the least. Though it is elsewhere mentioned as a study of imagery, (p. 92), when Thoreau's imagery and humor are discussed with some fullness (curiously enough in the chapter on "Ideas," pp. 159-66, especially p. 163), Hyman is not mentioned. The student with a primary interest in literature will have to examine for himself all the books and articles on Thoreau to discover what little has been written on this subject. The *Hand-*

book is an indispensable guide to many aspects of Thoreau's genius but not to this one, which may in the long run be his chief claim to fame.

The Correspondence, edited by Professors Harding and Bode, is "the first attempt to print in one collection every available surviving letter by and to Thoreau." A brief review of previous editions of his letters shows that there have been only two major ones: by Emerson, the year after his death, a selection of only 65 letters; and by Sanborn in 1894, revised in 1906, bringing the total to 140. During the next half century most of the rest of Thoreau's letters have been printed in various books and articles, ranging from fairly large sequences to strays. This wide scattering, and the inaccuracy of many of the texts, made a complete scholarly edition such as the present one highly desirable. But for their own compilation, curiously enough, editors Harding and Bode give no tabulations, so that the reviewer has been forced to make his own. A rough estimate indicates that the present edition contains approximately 250 letters by Thoreau and 150 to him—about twice as much epistolary material as was previously available in any one volume. But it is hard to determine how many of these letters are really new, rather than merely "previously uncollected." The best estimate is that only a few are now first published, and these are for the most part insignificant. So the chief value of the collected *Correspondence* is that it makes readily available the whole body of Thoreau's surviving letters in one convenient volume, with the added boon of all the known letters to him, and in a text that is for the first time trustworthy.

There are four main sequences, comprising about one-half of the volume. The longest is that to H. G. O. Blake, Thoreau's disciple, comprising 49 letters (and one from Blake). These are mostly long and extremely interesting, for Thoreau discussed his spiritual problems and strivings with him more candidly and fully than with any other correspondent. All but four of these are previously published, however, and the new ones are trivial. Next in importance are the letters exchanged with Emerson, 21 on each side (all previously published). This was probably the most influential relationship in Thoreau's life, and his letters to Emerson are witty and interesting but curiously withholding. The correspondence with Daniel Ricketson, a Quaker friend and disciple, is also of great value for the letters are full and candid (26 by Thoreau and 34 replies), though all of these except two or three have long been known. The final large sequence

consists of 25 letters by Thoreau to members of his family (all previously published), of more interest to the biographer than to the literary student. What is surprising is the small number of letters exchanged with other writers, even though one is mindful that Thoreau was a solitary man who in general eschewed literary associations. There are no surviving letters to Hawthorne, Ellery Channing, or Margaret Fuller, and the ten letters from them are unimportant, with two exceptions. There are six letters to Lowell, five to Horace Greeley, three to Higginson, two to Alcott, and one each to Jones Very and Louis Agassiz. Though about half of these are new, they are mostly brief or trivial; and the impressive list of "previously unpublished material" in the publisher's advertisement collapses on close examination. Perhaps the most interesting of the new letters are the half-dozen to Cholmondeley, an English Transcendentalist, and to Thoreau's early American disciple Isaiah Williams. Thoreau was not a great letter writer, and except for Emerson his correspondents were not men of distinguished literary or intellectual ability. As a result, students of literature and philosophy will not find a feast spread before them in this volume. This is, more properly, a valuable tool for the specialist on one of America's unique authors.

The texts have been reproduced from the original MSS, except in a few cases when they were not available, and if one can judge from a comparison with the three facsimiles they have been transcribed with scrupulous accuracy. But in trying to meet the interests of the general reader as well as scholars, the editors have supplied a minimum of annotations—supplemented by headnotes for each year largely consisting of irrelevant matter on contemporary social, economic, and political history. In these respects the *Correspondence* of Thoreau falls below the high standards of scholarship set by the editors of Emerson's, Lanier's, and Dickinson's letters in recent decades. Considering the intrinsic nature of Thoreau's correspondence this is not too serious a shortcoming, and students will be grateful to have the whole of it now first collected and in authentic form.

The Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES ANDERSON

Robert L. Hough, *The Quiet Rebel. William Dean Howells as Social Commentator* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1959. 137 pp. \$4.00).
UNDERSTANDING Howells as social commentator would make a

solid addition to our knowledge about one of the largest incomplete achievements of the people of the United States. In Howells's time they were in bondage to a capitalism incapable of coping with the changes in human culture it had brought about and consequently vulnerable to Marxist criticism. Today they have moved into an as yet imperfectly named condition which has made the Marxist analysis obsolete and brought them ground to hope for the emergence of a viable industrial culture.

Howells contributed to that change a responsible sensitivity of conscience to the problems which necessitated it. He expressed his concerns through his art, deeply moving the imagination of many readers, and as perhaps the greatest magazinist of his day he threw his prestige and celebrity behind the public discussion of many reforms. These aspects of his career have not gone unstudied. My work aside, such figures as George Arms, Newton Arvin, Louis Budd, Everett Carter, William M. Gibson, Clara and Rudolf Kirk, and (perhaps especially) Walter Fuller Taylor have made major contributions. But there is still much to be learned about the meaning of Howells's social ideas and expression. We need a finer, more complex appreciation of the force and implication of the novels—and not just those designated "social" by Taylor, but the whole corpus of Howells's work, which is everywhere organically connected to the maturation and deployment of his social concerns. Short of art, we need to know much more about his ideas in the context of the reformist propaganda and organization of his long "age."

Mr. Hough has done well to call our attention to Howells's self-identification as a "secular" socialist standing between the militant ideologue and party man on the one side and the Tolstoian come-outer or hermit on the other. He lists usefully many of the practical reform issues on which Howells wrote, and he corrects the notion that Howells withdrew from active social criticism after the middle '90's. For what they are worth, these appear to be Mr. Hough's contributions; and, I regret to say, they are all his monograph offers to balance a number of shortcomings.

Like most old-fashioned dissertations, this lacks the style and thematic unity of a true book as it lacks the depth and freshness of information which might have come from study of unpublished letters and papers. Unlike the standard dissertation, it lacks the traditional command of previous scholarship: none of the students listed above has been properly used, some not at all, others without acknowledgment.

Also missing are the cherished accuracy and the hopeful originality, the "contribution to knowledge," of the tradition. There is no space to list the errors of fact (except to insist that Howells did *not* move to New York in 1888), the obvious misreadings, nor the failures of method which let Mr. Hough treat the novels as if they were essays to be mined for proof-texts, without regard to their imaginative integrity, exactly the same as Howells's "Editor's Study" columns. But it does seem important to quarrel specifically with one set of Mr. Hough's ideas.

Somewhere he got the notion that Howells's boyhood Ohio incarnated a "Golden Age" of Jeffersonian perfection which accustomed him to "a truly classless society" and made him forever "a man who accepted the rationalistic tradition of the eighteenth century." Hough's thesis is that Howells's rejection of *laissez-faire* capitalism (surely an *echt* Age of Reason idea) came because he desired above all else to turn society back to that Enlightenment Utopia. As anyone ought to know, Howells was reared in the romantic Swedenborgianism which his father had embraced in conscious revolt against "Jacobinism" as the father understood it. Howells's earliest social perceptions were of his own class inferiority in the West; he struggled with acute self-consciousness toward his triumph of acceptance into top-drawer Society, learned to be ashamed of himself, and founded the evolution of his (in the other sense) social awareness on that long experience. This permeates his work from *The Independent Candidate* to *The Leatherwood God*. Finally, Howells was from adolescence dominantly an agnostic who returned to saying: ". . . we can see nothing whole . . . we can deal only with parts, with points, with degrees. . ." And the minor chord of his mature thought was a humanistic Christianity compassionate enough to accept with humility the anguish of wrestling inconclusively with "the riddle of the painful earth."

Indiana University

EDWIN H. CADY

Robert de Dardel, *Le Parfait fort en roman commun* (Geneva: Droz, and Paris: Minard, 1958. 173 pp. Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, 62). THE author of this book thinks of himself as a lonely pioneer in an effort to introduce the methodology of comparative linguistics (as practiced, for instance, by Indo-Europeanists) to the field of Romance studies. He is unaware of, or at least does

not mention, other efforts in the field of Proto-romance reconstruction (e. g. R. A. Hall's well known article on "The Reconstruction of Proto-romance"). Very fortunately Dardel realizes that his reconstructed "roman commun" is at best an oversimplified scheme and again very fortunately, he is not satisfied by reconstructing hypothetical Proto-romance forms but he also tries to document these forms in Late and Vulgar Latin texts. Of course it is inevitable that those Vulgar Latin forms which document the reconstruction become *bona fide* evidence of the influence of the spoken language on the Vulgar Latin texts, while all other forms are classified as mistakes, latinisms, hypercorrections, etc.

Dardel's book is divided into two parts: Part I deals with the reconstruction of the strong perfect in Proto-romance; Part II deals more extensively with the forms of the strong perfect in the early Romance languages and its subsequent Romance history. From the comparison of early Romance forms (especially Spanish, Portuguese and Italian), the author documents convincingly that in many verbs at least spoken Latin developed a pattern according to which the infixes *w* or *s* were used in the perfect in those forms in which the accent was on the stem vowel (*vólwi, *ténwi, *díksi), but not in the forms which were accented on the ending (*volisti, *tenisti, *dikisti). This pattern, according to de Dardel, was probably brought about by the necessity of distinguishing present tense forms (*cadir*) from the perfects (*caduit). In some verbs it was reached in three steps of development (1. *cecidi* / *cecidi*, 2. **cadi* / *cadi*, 3. **cadui* / *caduisti*), in some verbs in only two stages (1. *habui* / *habuisti*, 2. **abui* / *abisti*). The so-called intermediate forms (*formes médianes*) in which the accent was neither on the stem nor on the ending but on the infix itself (e. g. *habúeram*) were adapted to the same pattern. If the accent was shifted on the stem the infix was kept (*áβwimus); if the accent was put on the ending, it was lost (*aβim⁹s). In connection with this problem Dardel shows quite neatly with the help of the Italian Atlas, that in Italy the perfects of the type *ébbimo* (< áβwimus) appear in the Northern and Southern dialects while the secondary weak forms (type *avémmo*) were evidently innovations of the Central area.

Dardel's discussion of the strong perfects in the early Romance languages is generally well informed, and full of rather ingenious explanations. Perhaps his attempt to explain the much discussed -isi perfects of Sardinian (*appisi, intendisi*) is the most noteworthy: for

him these perfects are the outgrowth of the strong perfect pattern: *appisi / appisti* < **appi / avisti* < **habui, habisti*, and *intendisi / intendisti* / **intendi, intendisti* < **intesi / intendisti*.

One general remark on Dardel's discussion: the one language in which examples of "roman commun" perfects are numerous is of course Italian, where the type *caddi / cadesisti, dissisti / dicesisti* is not only attested in the earliest documents, but has remained productive up to this day. In old French there are a few examples of strong sigmatic perfects (*occist, rist, assist*) and a few examples of strong -u- perfects (*crut, jut, etc.*, not to be confused with the modern -us perfects which go back to the typically francien weak perfects in -ut: *deust* > *dut*, etc.). Old Spanish and Portuguese show a few strong perfects attested by alternations like *pudo* vs. *podiese, respuso* vs. *respondieron*. The evidence of the existence of the strong perfect type discussed by Dardel for Provençal, Catalan, Rhetoromance, and above all Sardinian and Romanian, is by the author's own admission very, very meager indeed. Under those circumstances one cannot but wonder whether the pattern described by Dardel as that of the "roman commun" should not be considered as an innovation of the Central area of the empire, which however affected the provinces only to varying degrees, perhaps depending on the time and manner of colonization.

University of Michigan

ROBERT L. POLITZER

Luis Vélez de Guevara, *La Niña de Gómez Arias*, ed. Ramón Rozzell (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1959. 291 pp. Colección Filológica, 16). PROFESSOR Rozzell's competence in the *comedia* is a guarantee of expertness in any editorial task; his editing of the present volume reveals an obvious mastery of his material. Unfortunately, the printing and proof-reading do not measure up to the editor's standards. A footnote to page 7 states that, because of the "dificultades de tiempo y distancia," the editor was not permitted to see the printer's proofs of his book. The footnote to the copy that came to the reviewer has an addition in the editor's hand to the effect that there was also omitted an *Indice de las notas*. The total result is something less than perfect. Professor Rozzell's readers will lament with him the errors of typography that occur profusely throughout the book.

Rozzell's *Introducción* is adequate; it describes the bibliography of the play, the *suelta* texts that he used; it details the folkloristic Gómez Arias theme and its elaboration in Spanish literature, it dates the *comedia* and it explains the play's "trama y versificación." The types of versification are correctly labeled except that lines 2501-2529 present an insertion of *redondillas* and a prose passage in what is otherwise the *romance* passage of 2328-2615; this will necessitate a slight change in the figures on pages 54-55. (At the top of 55, columns one through five should be headed I, II, III, *Total* and *Total por ciento* respectively, corrections already made in the reviewer's copy.) The *sueltos* of 1348-1429 may be labeled more accurately as *sueltos* with occasional *pareados*; of the latter there are eleven instances in the passage.

There is no space here for a listing of all the errors of typography. Fortunately, as a lesser evil, relatively speaking, many of these involve punctuation marks rather than misspelled words. The *Introducción* has numerous mistakes that do not interfere seriously with its comprehension. The play's text of course demands more detailed attention; disregarding the two dozen errors in line-numbering, some of the more serious mistakes are as follows (the location is by line number and we indicate the item's corrected reading): 248 *guíneo* (with a small *g* as in the note for the word), 256 *pondré*, 383 *puedas*, 539 *haberme*, 771 *reventara*, 1988 *aspereza*, 2336 *hasta*, 2552 *suspenda*, 2575 *ofensa*. In 528-529 read *que* for the first *le* of line 3; at 572-573 Perico speaks *Un ángel . . . faltriquera*; in 1494 omit *de*; at 1519-20 read *llévanlo*; at 1535 move *Lee* up the page to precede the line; at 2164-65 reverse the order of the lines. In 2327-28 *al* of the last line should read *del*; at 2590 read *de* for *que*. Footnotes 2584 and 2587 should read *Gómez* for *Yáñez*. Failure to indent properly occurs at 49, 79, 434, 898. All of these errors had been corrected in the review copy. In addition, footnote 1465 reads 1546 in error; 918 needs indentation; *hombre* of 1349 should read *hombro*. Apparently *es* of 86 should be *en*.

In the *Notas* (the review copy had several of the following corrected), at 439 (l. 5) read *Marín*, at 509 (l. 8) *amo*, at 979 ss. (l. 7) *mas*. At 987 (l. 1 of p. 266) put the parenthesis after *Juana*. At 1022-23 (the note is mis-numbered 1222-24) read *pensamientos* in l. 6. In 1205 reverse the two lines of the quotation. Read 1342 for 1432. At 1660 (l. 2) read *envidiosa*; at 1892-95 (l. 4) *vez*. 2514 is mis-numbered 1514. In the list of *Obras dramáticas* (p. 285 ff.)

there are several mistakes that do not greatly endanger the reader's comprehension.

Professor Rozzell's text for the play is almost always clear, his choice among variants (where these were provided by the three *sueltas*) nearly always a happy one. But at 1458 it is customary for *había* to be written thus even though here it counts as only two syllables. Line 2027 is spoken by Gómez rather than by Laureano. Between 2382 and 2383 one or more lines are needed to complete the meaning; there must be a similar lack at one or more places in 2560-73. Lines 475, 481, 496 need a more careful arrangement on the page to indicate length and rhyme. *Adiós* of 602 would be better as *a Dios*, as in 803. A is needed before *no* in 1889 and before *lo* in 1929.

The *Notas*, adequately revelatory of the text, need few alterations or additions. *Nota 25* is violated by *ahora* of 1182. Lines 434 (*Fuera que no*), 444-445 and 2013 need notes to clarify meaning. Note 366 is superfluous: remove the semi-colon and the comma of the line and punctuate 367 as an aside. *Campo* 'army' of 1869 is 'camp' at 1874. *Sobrevaina* of 2085 is defined by Baretti's (and Stevens') Dictionary as "a false scabbard to put over another for riding." It is possible that details of 2224-67 could be identified as actual events and real people if one had enough knowledge of the minutiae of history; 2244-45, for example, could well be a reference to Rodrigo Calderón. *Vosasted* of 2604 might have a reference to note 606.

We lack space here to consider Professor Rozzell's criticism of the play as dramatic literature (*Intro.*, 63-69); he finds it impossible, as does the reviewer, to decide with finality just how *La niña* was played in Vélez's time. The play has elements of broad farce and also of pathos. That is, for us, it has pathos, but did it for Vélez? Might his *comedia* have been played purely as farce, stressing the several *burlas* of the play, even that of the *niña*'s enslavement? *La niña* is not a good play, whether judged by the standards of our time or by those of Vélez's day.

University of Tennessee

GERALD E. WADE

Lester G. Crocker, *An Age of Crisis. Man and World in Eighteenth-Century French Thought* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. xx + 496 pp. \$7.50. The Goucher College Series). LESTER Crocker's latest contribution to eighteenth-century French studies is,

readers will doubtless agree, his most ambitious and important work to date. It is not to be dismissed lightly. The vast amount of reading that the book represents is itself impressive, and one feels that there is little pertinent material indeed that has not passed under the author's scrutiny. Many of the volumes examined, some to be sure more worth-while than others, might have made stimulating, even exciting reading, and much of their spirit of provocation comes through to us in the pages of *An Age of Crisis*. But a large number must have been inordinately dull, requiring a persistence and tenacity in their perusal almost beyond the call of duty. There will be those to thank Mr. Crocker for sparing them the *ennui* of making their way through hundreds of works of third-rate writers of the ancien régime in search of some hidden bit of wisdom or, more likely, confirmation of trends in thinking already better expressed by the great or near great. Through the fifteen or so chapters of the present book, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot and Laclos, for instance, march cheek by jowl with the Delandines, the Brissot de Warvilles, the Levesque de Pouillys, the Hoins, the Goguets, the Ilharat de la Chambres, and a host of lesser moralists and men of letters, for our historian has ranged far and wide.

And Mr. Crocker is here an historian as well as a literary critic; besides he has something of the touch of an academic and moral philosopher as well. These are all essential qualities for realizing the aim of the work, an aim set forth in the very first sentence of the Prefatory Note: "to write a synthetical study of French ethical thought during the Age of Enlightenment."

This immediately reminds us of the late Ernst Cassirer's *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung*. It comes as no surprise, then, when the Prefatory Note also states that the structure of the book will closely resemble Cassirer's in that "a series of problems will be examined successively," and that "chronology will be followed within each topic, rather than as in the conventional history, which pursues a single chronological line, treating all subjects simultaneously" (p. xiii). But Professor Crocker is no servile imitator of his distinguished predecessor. In fact, he seems to imply that a little German metaphysics can go a long way in an interpretation of the French eighteenth century when, on two or three occasions, he chides Cassirer ever so gently for a somewhat questionable line of reasoning (cf. pp. xvi, xvii, 37).

It is of interest to note in this connection that, whereas the name of Immanuel Kant frequently reappears in the work of the University

of Hambourg's illustrious exile, that of the Marquis de Sade runs like a *leitmotif* throughout *An Age of Crisis*. It might even be safely said that while one critic often falls back on the transcendentalism of the *Critique of Pure Reason* and especially the *Critique of Judgment*, the other points repeatedly and warningly forward to the *Histoire de Juliette* and *La Philosophie dans le boudoir*.

Typically, we are told that "The opinions of Diderot are evidently forerunners of the ultimate radicalism of Sade" (p. 275); and again, "It is doubtful whether, without the preparatory work of Mandeville and the further developments of certain French materialists, the marquis de Sade, at the terminus of the Age of Enlightenment, could have plunged man to the bottommost pit of the lower depths, and enveloped him in utter moral and metaphysical nihilism" (pp. 296-297). In short, if we accept Professor Crocker as our pilot through the various intellectual cross currents and emotional rip tides of the eighteenth century we find ourselves in a gradual and indeed inevitable progression toward Sade's "extreme espousal of evil" and a multitude of "fearsome nihilistic or totalitarian possibilities" suddenly made reality by the French Revolution.

Such then—and many would agree—are the ultimate consequences of this "age of crisis," consequences which have led to the malaise of the twentieth century with its attendant anxieties and frustrations. But then too the twentieth century has its voices raised in question, "Must we burn Sade?" or, with renewed insistence, demanding complete vindication of Robespierre and the Reign of Terror. A third position is held by those who see in all this merely one more manifestation down through the ages of what Sir Hubert Grierson was wont to call "the systole and diastole of the human heart in history." It is in the eloquently moving conclusion entitled "Culminations" that Mr. Crocker seems to reveal full awareness of the validity of all three positions.

In the main body of his study, however, the expression of alarm over the collapse of traditional standards, the "loss of the metaphysical fundament of values," and the "failure" of eighteenth-century ideals represents the prevailing viewpoint. Its plan of presentation is carefully worked out with three all-inclusive headings, *Man in the Universe*, *Freedom and Determinism*, and *Human Nature and Motivation*. Under these are grouped for analysis fourteen problems ranging from "Man's Relation to God" to "Human Nature in the Novel."

Despite the abstract nature of chapter titles, the author, time and again in the furtherance of his investigation, gets down to concrete illustrations drawn from writers and their works. As well might be expected, Mr. Crocker avoids the clichés and misconceptions still prevalent concerning Rousseau and the idea of man's natural goodness; at the same time, he offers valuable insights concerning the steadfast or shifting positions—as the case may be—of such figures as Nicole, Bayle, Helvétius, Hume and Voltaire—to name but a few. In this reviewer's opinion, he is particularly effective in holding the reader's attention through lively presentation and persuasive argument as he touches upon nine major novelists of the eighteenth century in relation to human motivation. We can but agree with Professor Crocker that a full-length study of the eighteenth-century novel from this and related viewpoints is still to be written; perhaps he is the one to do it.

But to return to *An Age of Crisis*, the title itself would appear to be entirely justified by the author's repeated depiction of outstanding personalities more often than not in unremitting conflict with themselves. In this connection, the word "torn" is dramatic, and it applies well to Pascal seeking absolute emotional and rational certainty. And in the following century Rousseau and Voltaire may have been among those to struggle with the tragic sense of life. Not all will be of a mind with Mr. Crocker, however, that Diderot was similarly "torn." There will be those quick to point out that Diderot, the "girouette de Landres," Diderot "l'homme-bouc intellectuel," was quite capable of coping with his own various attitudes; along with his moralizing tone was that of the man who loved to mystify and shock others with his marked capacity for and rare sense of the paradoxical. It is an aspect of Diderot all too seldom reckoned with.

In a study whose scope is as impressive as this, it would hardly be possible for any single person to be in complete accord with all the points of view presented. Divergency of opinion is inevitable; but the fact adds to rather than detracts from the value of the book. *An Age of Crisis* is seminal, it is challenging, it does not lull one to sleep with a cautiously infallible exposé. Rather, as it moves along, it gathers momentum, it keeps the reader alert, makes him want to question, to seek possible interpretations of his own. These are merits that cannot be too heavily stressed.

Moreover, as the author observes, this is not the final answer. Mr. Crocker has every intention of continuing his stimulating inquiry on

man's relationship to himself, his fellow man, God and the universe in subsequent volumes. Perhaps, then, we should suspend final judgment on the success of his enterprise until he has drawn his formidable task to a close. Meanwhile we are already afforded the opportunity of profiting in sundry ways from this labor so auspiciously launched.

Columbia University

OTIS FELLOWS

Pierre-Simon Ballanche, *La Théodicée et la Virginie romaine*, ed., Oscar A. Haac (Geneva: Droz, and Paris: Minard, 1959. 142 pp. Textes Littéraires Français, 88). M. HAAC publie dans le présent ouvrage des inédits de Ballanche qu'il a découverts à la bibliothèque de Lyon. Ce sont tous des fragments de cette *Palingénésie sociale* que Ballanche intitula plus tard *Théodicée de l'histoire* et qu'il ne termina jamais. Le morceau le plus important est l'histoire de la Virginie romaine très librement adaptée de Tite-Live et Denys d'Halicarnasse. Les textes sont présentés par M. Levaillant dans une courte préface et par M. Haac lui-même dans une introduction historique et critique qui comprend à peu près la moitié de l'ouvrage.

M. Haac a de bonnes raisons pour penser que Virginie, la vertueuse héroïne de la "Seconde sécession plébeienne" a eu Mme Récamier pour modèle. Le renseignement n'est pas fait pour diminuer notre plaisir. Ballanche est un attardé qui écrit, en 1825, comme on l'eût fait en 1805. C'est donc tout le style néo-classique qui revit pour nous dans ces pages, d'autant mieux peut-être que Ballanche n'est pas un grand écrivain. Sa personnalité disparaît derrière les tics et les modes de l'Empire.

C'est surtout la réflexion historique chez Ballanche qui retient l'attention de M. Haac. On retrouve chez divers auteurs les éléments constitutifs de son système mais Ballanche les enrobe d'un brouillard mystique et illuministe tout à fait particulier. Chez lui, comme chez tant de penseurs de l'époque, il s'agit, avant tout, d'adapter la pensée historique du siècle précédent au fait énorme de la révolution française. Ni les révolutionnaires ni les traditionnalistes ne pouvaient tourner leurs yeux, en 1825, vers le passé récent sans y découvrir des motifs de désarroi. Pour maintenir la croyance au progrès il fallait injecter à l'histoire, sous une forme ou sous une autre, une dose de ce que Hegel appelle la "dialectique." Cette nécessité dialectique

est surtout présente chez ceux qui, tel Ballanche lui-même, ont souffert personnellement de la révolution ou de ses suites. Le progrès ne sera pas continu mais spasmodique, il aura toujours pour rançon la souffrance et la mort. La croyance au progrès mécanique ne se rétablit vraiment que vers le milieu du siècle, lorsque le choc de la révolution est définitivement amorti. Suivant la direction que prend la "dialectique" on aboutit à l'apologie du bourreau chez Joseph de Maistre, à l'apologie de la guerre chez Hegel, à l'apologie de la révolution prolétarienne chez Marx. La Virginie du très doux Ballanche s'inscrit à côté de ces mythes tragiques de l'histoire. M. Haac montre ce que son auteur doit à Vico et à Joseph de Maistre. Il remarque également que Ballanche ressemble à Hegel qui "identifie Dieu à l'esprit de l'histoire." L'héroïque plébeienne Virginie accepte de mourir aux mains de son père pour échapper aux noirs desseins d'un patricien débauché. Devant cet atroce sacrifice la plèbe tout entière va prendre conscience de ses droits. La vierge n'obéit pas qu'à des motifs égoïstement personnels, elle est séduite, écrit assez platement Ballanche, "par le charme d'être utile à toute une classe." *La Théodicée de l'histoire* appartient à l'univers qui vit naître la *Phénoménologie de l'esprit*. Il ne manque à Ballanche que le monstrueux génie du penseur germanique.

M. Haac débrouille habilement les diverses influences philosophiques, illuministes et littéraires qui se sont exercées sur Ballanche. Il dégage les lignes principales du système et il situe la *Théodicée* par rapport aux entreprises souvent parallèles des poètes et historiens romantiques. Il rapproche Virginie des grandes héroïnes de l'histoire chez Augustin Thierry et Michelet. C'est à ce dernier que Ballanche fait un peu penser dans les morceaux les mieux venus de son poème historique. Le charmant ouvrage de M. Haac remplira d'aise non seulement les amis de Ballanche mais tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux conséquences intellectuelles de la révolution et aux divers courants qui jaillissent de cette source prodigieuse. Les savants positivistes étaient fort sévères à l'égard de l'histoire romantique et pré-romantique. Fiers de leur science et de leur méthode ils méprisaient leurs propres précurseurs au nom de la vérité absolue qu'ils se croyaient toujours sur le point de conquérir. Cette vérité positive a rejoint au cimetière les autres mythes de l'histoire. Revenus de la prudence autant que de l'audace nous jouissons sans contrainte d'une réflexion historique qui n'est pas constamment entravée par le souvenir d'échecs antérieurs et la crainte de nouveaux désastres. Nous sommes prêts à redécouvrir le premier quart du dix-neuvième siècle, le plus fertile, peut-être, et le

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plus méconnu. Il faut féliciter M. Haac de sa contribution à cette renaissance.

The Johns Hopkins University

RENE GIRARD

Emile Zola, *Salons*, eds. F. W. S. Hemmings and Robert J. Niess et précédés d'une étude sur Emile Zola, critique d'art de F. W. J. Hemmings (Geneva: Droz and Paris: Minard, 1959. 277 pp. Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, 63). ZOLAISTS will be extremely grateful for this book. Its indefatigable editors have collected (with what patience and perseverance only those who have searched for and through nineteenth-century periodicals can know) eleven critical studies on art which have remained practically unknown until now. Five have never been reprinted, and the others appear here for the first time in their original form, since even the two that may be found in the *Œuvres complètes* (*Mon Salon* [1866] and *Edouard Manet* in *Mélanges*, ed. Bernouard) had been pruned or truncated by the author years later. Four of the articles, published in Russian in the periodical *Vestnik Evropy*, Hemmings has translated into French, for the first time. There is no doubt that these *Salons*, regardless of their ultimate worth as art criticism, form an important segment of Zola's work. They range over thirty years of uninterrupted preoccupation with painting and sculpture, from his Peck's Bad Boy Salon of 1866 to a last nostalgic appraisal in the *Figaro* when, at the Salon of 1896, the luminous canvas à l'impressionniste had apparently become so banal that he exclaimed: "Eh quoi! vraiment, c'est pour ça que je me suis battu?"

This polemical tone is perhaps the best known characteristic of Zola's art criticism. Many scholars have tended to agree with F. Doucet that he wrote it primarily to attract attention, and ceased doing so when he had achieved this purpose. The prefatory essay disproves both points by clearly showing the development of Zola's ideas on art, in these and in other studies too fragmentary to include in the present volume. Rather than assessing their critical merits, Hemmings shows their impact on the cultural world of their time, clarifies, in their light, the rather vexing problem of Zola's relationships with the various artists of his acquaintance, and suggests the lines which further study might take. Zola's shifts of preference—

he began by admiring Ary Scheffer and Gustave Doré—parallel his development as a novelist. Yet we are not surprised that the author of *Nana* should be irresistibly drawn to Gustave Moreau's the *Sphinx* at the 1879 Salon, despite his admitted "irritation" or that he remained all his life an admirer of Greuze. As for his relations with the Impressionists, Hemmings makes it clear that he continued to champion them whenever possible, particularly in the *Vestnik Evropy*, when the columns of French newspapers were closed to him. And although he came to feel certain reservations concerning their work, he remained devoted to their cause until, in 1881, he abandoned journalism for fifteen years.

Hemmings' most interesting suggestion is the parallel he draws between Baudelaire and Zola. There is small likelihood that Zola consulted Baudelaire's *Salons* in the periodicals: the poet wrote himself in 1864 that those of 1845 and 1846 were "*introuvable*." He may of course have read them in the *Curiosités Esthétiques*, published in 1868, but it is remarkable how closely certain of his formulae, in his *Salons* and the essay on Manet which appeared two years before that time, resemble those of Baudelaire. As Hemmings points out, however, the divergencies are as frequent as the resemblances. Unlike Baudelaire's, Zola's appreciation of a painting was hardly ever subjective: the crowd's reaction was frequently as important as the work; its hostility a spur to the defense of genius. "J'ai défendu M. Manet," he wrote in 1866, "comme je défendrai dans ma vie toute individualité franche qui sera attaquée." Baudelaire was never the polemicist.

Thus it is probably unnecessary to state that Zola's criticism of paintings was inferior to Baudelaire's. Not only does it lack the poet's verve and spontaneity, as Hemmings remarks, but a certain looseness of phrase, an uncertainty of conviction, frequently make these *Salons* rather painful reading. Such adjectives as *solide*, *ferme*, *juste*, *vivant*, *doux*, *abondant*, recur again and again; paintings he admires are "*l'expression complète*" of a "*tempérament*." But it is to Zola's immense credit that he unswervingly chose the great painters of his time, despite his apparent inability to make absolute judgments. For he finally labelled Impressionism "*l'audace du moment, le drapeau qu'il s'agissait de planter sur des terres ennemis*." He seemed incapable of discerning Cézanne's development after that "*moment*": to call him a "*grand peintre avorté*" may have been exact enough up to 1880, but to repeat it in 1896! This judgment, like his remark that Manet's technique lagged behind his powers of observation,

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apparently stemmed from his belief that all painting was careless that was not "tight"—precise, sharply defined, insistent on detail. His "très grand et pur artiste" was Puvis de Chavannes.

Perhaps understandably, his best work is in his negative criticism of painters like Cabanel, Gérôme, or Bastien-Lepage. Pursuing Hemmings' parallel, I found it interesting to compare Baudelaire's and Zola's criticism of the same academic painter: Jean-Léon Gérôme. Zola first attacked him in an article rediscovered by the editors, the *Salon* of 1867, a year before publication of the *Curiosités esthétiques*; he returns to the subject in 1878. Baudelaire devoted two pages to his work in the *Salon* of 1859. On almost every point the two critics agree: Gérôme's anecdotal quality, his introduction of modern elements in scenes of antiquity, his titillating *gaillardise*, his lack of originality. Zola is less subtle, incapable of Baudelaire's irony and wit, lacking his erudition and cultural breadth, yet in one or two important respects, modern critics might find him as sound a critic as his famous contemporary. Where Baudelaire declares Gérôme's technique neither original nor powerful ("[sa facture] n'a jamais été forte ni originale"), Zola notes his skill in cultivating a smooth surface adapted to the sharp rendering of detail, but denounces the accomplishment as pointless. Baudelaire concludes with faint praise for Gérôme: "Telle qu'elle est, et avec tous ses défauts, cette toile est la meilleure et incontestablement la plus grande qu'il nous ait montrée depuis longtemps," Zola writing only eight years later brings his attack to a ringing climax: "Eh! non, monsieur, vous n'avez pas fait un tableau. C'est là, si vous le voulez, une image habile, un sujet plus ou moins spirituellement traité, une marchandise à la mode. . . . Je cherche vainement en vous le créateur." It is tempting to wonder, in this context, what Baudelaire would have written about the Impressionists. Probably he would not have fully approved their principles. One might guess that he would have judged their work as he did the landscapes, particularly Boudin's, in the 1859 *Salon*: heady splendors of color, liquid and aerial magic, yet lacking imagination and the presence of man. By that time he believed that painting had entered a stage which he did not hesitate, in a letter to Manet, to call "la décrépitude de l'art." Yet he was one of the first, if not the first to recognize Manet's talent, despite G. Antoine (*Vie, poésies et pensées de Joseph Delorme*, Nouvelles Éditions latines [1956], p. cxv), although he left Paris in 1864 and praised him after that only in his Correspondence (see especially *Corr.* ed. Conard, iv, 275).

But if these "new" Salons furnish us with sufficient material on which to base a judgment of Zola's art criticism, they have a further value as important documents in the history of the relationship between two art forms. Zola "saw life in pictures"; in particular his comments on certain paintings by artists now forgotten show how natural for him was the oscillation between the graphic and the novelistic form. It is merely piquant to see his approving nod at "une scène de blanchisseuses," *Au Lavoir*, by one Pelez, three years after *L'Assommoir*, but it is instructive when he singles out, before *L'Attaque du Moulin* and *La Débâcle*, among the military paintings at the 1875 Salon, one which depicts an attack on a besieged house during the Franco-Prussian War. And he does not fail to stress that this is a "patriotic" painting, with the Germans besieged and the French attacking. At the 1880 Salon he expresses admiration for Bastien-Lepage's *Jeanne d'Arc* but in the accents of *Lourdes* takes him sternly to task for including the Maid's actual vision: "Jeanne seule devrait voir les saintes, qui sont des imaginations pures, des effets morbides de son tempérament."

Much more remains to be said of these *Salons*. Concerning *L'Œuvre*, they provide the material for a valuable study of how Zola transfers his critical observations of actual paintings to the fictitious works of the novel. A single example is the "assimilation," which he discerned in the works of certain academic painters who appropriated, but toned down to make them acceptable to the public, the striking features of Manet's work. In the notes for *L'Œuvre* he mentions Henri Gervex as the source for Fagerolles, Claude Lantier's successful rival. Of Fagerolles a character says, "Eh bien ! tout le truc consiste à lui voler son originalité et à l'accommorder à la sauce veule de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Parfaitement ! On prend du moderne, on peint clair, mais on garde le dessin banal et correct, la composition agréable de tout le monde, enfin la formule qu'on enseigne là-bas, pour l'agrément du bourgeois" (ed. Bernouard, p. 200). It was with Gervex in mind that Zola denounced in 1879 "[l'] homme adroit, attrapant une idée au vol, vulgarisant à l'intention de la bourgeoisie la nouvelle méthode, captant au premier coup la faveur du public par des ruses techniques." In this significant detail the art critic and the novelist are one.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN C. LAPP

Gardner Davies, *Mallarmé et le drame solaire. Essai d'exégèse raisonnée* (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1959. 299 pp.). L'AUTEUR poursuit une exégèse déjà très appréciée en s'occupant des textes suivants: Quand l'ombre menaça de la fatale loi. . . . Victorieusement fui le suicide beau. . . . Ses purs ongles très haut dédiant leur onyx. . . . M'introduire dans ton histoire. . . . La chevelure vol d'une flamme à l'extrême. . . . Tout orgueil fume-t-il du soir. . . . Surgi de la croupe et du bond. . . . Une dentelle s'abolit. . . . Il voit dans ces poèmes une utilisation du thème du soleil couchant, en conjonction parfois avec celui de la chevelure et celui de l'invention poétique. Il fait preuve d'une connaissance consommée des tours et tics mallarméens; il apporte des variantes intéressantes aux interprétations antérieures, en particulier en ce qui concerne le premier texte cité. Cela n'empêche pas certains vers de rester sinon obscurs, du moins confus. La science et l'ingéniosité de l'exégète ne sont pas à mettre en cause. Il semble plutôt que l'accumulation et la fusion des tours précieux et négatifs rendent impossible en certains cas l'interprétation en prose analytique.

A la suite d'autres commentateurs, et de Mallarmé lui-même, l'auteur parle de "poète idéaliste," des "essences pures," d'idée en opposition à matière. Je commence à me méfier de ces grands mots. En ce qui concerne la matière, la poésie n'est-elle pas la technique qui, verbalement, matérialise le plus l'idée? En ce qui concerne l'idéalisme, il ne saurait s'agir, dans le cas de Mallarmé, ni d'un idéalisme éthique, ni même d'un idéalisme épistémologique. Mieux vaudrait sans doute rayer "idéalisme" du vocabulaire de la critique. En ce qui concerne la pureté, il y a autant de purifications possibles qu'il y a de techniques purifiantes. *Un Coup de dés*, pourrait-on dire, purifie poétiquement le terme de hasard. La théorie du calcul des probabilités donne un sens mathématiquement plus pur à ce mot de la tribu. Et sans doute Mallarmé a été tenté de traiter les mots à la manière de signes algébriques et de faire du poème une sorte d'équation: sa poésie montre ce qui est possible dans cette direction, et aussi ce qui ne l'est pas. Mais la pureté proprement poétique, dans le cas de Mallarmé, est plutôt en rapport avec un autre type de réflexivité: le poème est pur dans la mesure où il est structuré par le thème de l'invention poétique. La critique, à mon sens, n'a pas encore trouvé les catégories propres à caractériser la conversion poétique du langage. Les considérations de M. Gardner Davies sur l'analogie, par ailleurs bien conçues et intéressantes, me semblent, de ce point de vue, manquer

le coche. Mais aussi bien son dessein était d'écrire une exégèse, non une métapoétique. Ce dessein a été accompli.

Indiana University

ROBERT CHAMPIGNY

Gabrielle Savet, *André Suarès, critique* (Paris: Didier, 1959. 187 pp. *Essais et Critiques*, 2). SUARÈS died twelve years ago, and the large body of his work lies waiting for what he contemptuously called "the rats": petty academic rodents that nibble in the dark and show an overpowering instinct for shredding paper. The irony is that the strait gate through which he must pass to secure his salvation as a writer will have very much the dimensions of a rat-hole, of a whole succession of them. It is out of works, in scope if not in spirit like Mme Savet's, and out of their assessment that the significance of Suarès' achievement will ultimately emerge. Let us therefore start crawling without fear, and see where we are led.

We could be led very far. Suarès would have subscribed to Arnold's dictum that "poetry is criticism of life," and in that sense his whole work is poetry. But life was not an abstraction for him. It was embodied in the records left by individual men, in whom life and the awareness of life had reached such an intensity that they deserved the tag of "grands vivants." Out of his quest for such records, out of his life-long urge to mirror his own experience in them, arose an imperious number of portraits and essays. Obviously, then, Mme Savet is on an important trail. What do we have the right to expect from a study entitled *André Suarès, critique*? We expect first of all to be told in what Suarès' critical work consists; how it is related to his vocation as a writer; whether his criteria are overt or implicit, steadfast or wavering; and what they are.

Mme Savet casually seems to answer some of these questions in two early chapters on Suarès' concept of art and of criticism. "Il est nécessaire de grouper les pensées de Suarès qui se rapportent à la création artistique et à la nature de l'art" (p. 30), she writes. How very true. But is this sufficient? Mme Savet goes about her grouping without showing much more than manual dexterity. She skims over Suarès' work and sedulously quotes or paraphrases him on a variety of topics: function of art, function of the poet, the portrait as the supreme literary form, racial considerations, emotion, poetry, drama,

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classicism and romanticism. This is useful insofar as it may adumbrate for a limited number of readers the range and orientation of Suarès' interests; but it is disastrous in that at no point does it show a real mastery of the material involved, a genuine ability to interpret it and find its central assumptions. No one would suspect the organic coherence of Suarès' pronouncements, pulverized as they are, after going through these chapters. On the contrary, they give an impression of high-sounding and hopelessly muddled generalities that can only do disservice to a writer too often plagued by hasty and impatient readers.

As to the relationships that may obtain between Suarès' critical attitudes and the past or his own time, not a word. Nothing on the tradition of hero-worship. Nothing on the contemporaries who were following a parallel path. Hardly anything at all on the common denominators of Suarès' various literary portraits. When Mme Savet attempts to draw these out, she produces such gems as: "Le portrait littéraire implique un choix initial: celui du modèle" (p. 72) and "Le sentiment de la beauté, le goût exigeant de Suarès sont les qualités foncières qui expliquent sa réussite dans le portrait littéraire" (p. 73). These are not casual slips maliciously sorted out. They recur page after page and, at best, denote a disquieting ingenuity; witness this arresting statement: "L'auteur s'exprime dans une prose poétique visant parfois à des effets voulus, obtenus par une combinaison particulière de la forme et du fond" (p. 85). Sometimes Mme Savet manfully strives for precision: "Le génie de Suarès brille d'un double aspect qui se rencontre rarement dans le même cerveau: c'est un mélange de sensualité et d'abstraction . . ." (p. 76). Might not one suggest that this *double aspect glows in the brain* of a few other contemporary writers, say, of Proust, Péguy, Valéry, Claudel? There are differences, no doubt; but to explore these would be to wander into the restricted area of criticism. Heaven forbid!

Is Mme Savet's study more successful if we read it in its original and unassuming capacity as a doctoral dissertation? It must be, since it was accepted. But even then, forewarned as we are as to what this deciduous *genre* requires, we find in it a disturbing lack of balance. The whole second part is devoted to a mere plodding review of Suarès' critical statements on writers, on the fine arts, and finally on music. This "promenade anthologique" is conducted so haphazardly and at such a necessarily furious pace, that its purpose is well nigh wasted. Suarès' ideas on music alone deserve a whole dissertation to themselves,

and have indeed been the object of one, by Thomas Doherty. The same could be said of Suarès' interest in the fine arts. As for writers, Mme Savet leaves out as much as she stuffs in. Her omissions are glaring and catastrophic. Pégy has been jettisoned; so has Goethe; and worst of all, so has Pascal. These figures exerted such a lasting and powerful impact on Suarès' thought and technique, that their absence is unexplainable and unforgivable. Nor, finally, do the humbler virtues of textual accuracy and fidelity fare much better. To take only pages 92-93, I find in them three misquotations, three quotations for which no reference is given, and two for which the reference is incorrect. Mme Savet has a tendency to rewrite Suarès. Perhaps she ought first to have reread him; or even better, not read him at all.

Bryn Mawr College

MARIO MAURIN

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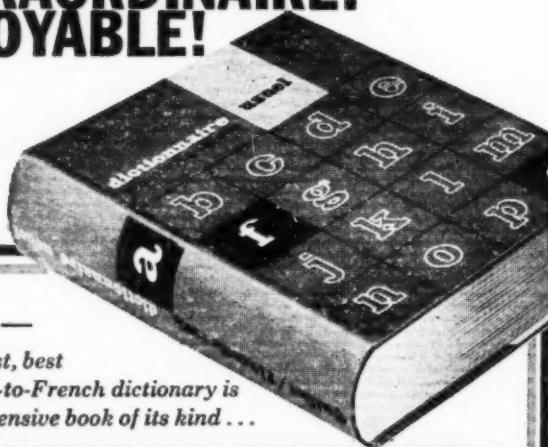
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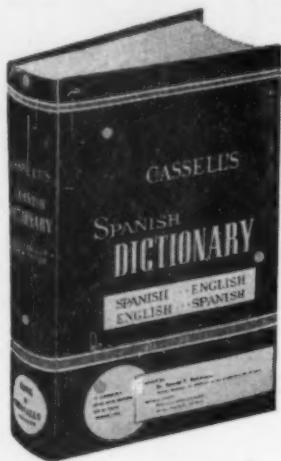
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